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THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE
GENERAL EDITOR: W. J. CRAIG
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THE TRAGEDY

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR

THE WORKS

OF

SHAKESPEARE

THE TRAGEDY OF JULIUS CÆSAR

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

In preparing this edition of *Julius Cæsar* I have derived great assistance from the Elizabethan lore of Mr. W. J. Craig, the editor of *Lear*, in the same series. I have consulted almost all the recent editions of *Julius Cæsar*, especially the very exhaustive and able edition prepared for Indian Colleges by Mr. Mark Hunter, Principal of the Government College, Mangalore. Mr. Moulton's book on Shakespeare's dramatic art has also been of great use to me. My obligation to Dr. Abbott is sufficiently indicated by the frequent references to his Shakespearian Grammar in the notes. The extracts from Plutarch are taken from Skeat's *Shakespeare's Plutarch.* The references to Shakespeare's plays other than *Julius Cæsar* are in accordance with the numbering of the lines in the Globe edition. I have not had the temerity to suggest many new readings. For some time I flattered myself that I had improved V. i. 35 by the conversion of a full stop into a note of interrogation, but it afterwards turned out that the emendation had been anticipated by Delius. I cannot find that any previous commentator has thought of making the return to the reading of all the Folios advocated in my note on III. i.

171, or the dash that I have put at the end of IV. iii. 5. Other alterations in the generally accepted text, that I have pointed out as possible, but not ventured to introduce into the text of this edition, will be found suggested in the notes on I. iii. 65, II. i. 83, ii. 46, iv. 18, III. i. 39, ii. 118, and IV. iii. 240. The only passage, as far as I know, to which, without departing from the usual reading, I have given an entirely new interpretation is III. i. 174, 175. Few notes on the scansion of particular lines will be found in the following pages. Shakespeare's metre is a large subject, which requires general treatment with reference to all the plays. The commentary on any individual play would be overburdened, if an attempt were made to examine all the metrical irregularities that occur in it. The notes in this edition are mostly explanatory, and even with this restriction it has been found difficult to keep the commentary within due bounds.

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INTRODUCTION

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Although there is no record of *Julius Cæsar* having been printed before the first Folio edition of Shakespeare's works published in 1623, the date of the first appearance of the play may be determined within very narrow limits by external evidence of a fairly convincing character. The play is not mentioned in Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, *Wit's Treasury*, published on 7th September 1598, and may therefore be assumed to be posterior to that date. In John Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs* are found the following lines:—

> The many-headed multitude were drawn
> By Brutus' speech, that Cæsar was ambitious.
> When eloquent Mark Antony had shown
> His virtues, who but Brutus then was vicious?

This passage must he regarded as a distinct reference to Shakespeare's play. The antithesis gives very exactly the effects of the speeches of Brutus and Antony in the second scene of the third act, and such a contrast is not found in Plutarch or in any other of the historians, who

gave an account of Cæsar's death and the events that followed. The *Mirror of Martyrs* was published in 1601, but, as is pointed out by Mr. Percy Simpson in *Notes and Queries* (Feb. 1899), the author in his Dedication asserts that the work "some two years ago was made fit for the print." We may therefore conclude with some confidence that Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* was not brought out later than 1599. This conclusion is strongly supported by a passage quoted by Mr. Percy Simpson from *Every Man out of His Humour*, a play of Ben Jonson's belonging to the year 1599, in which Clove, who talks fustian, begins a speech by saying, "Then coming to the pretty animal, as *Reason long since is fled to animals*, you know," which is evidently a jibing reference to *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 112. In the same play the words "Et tu, Brute," taken by themselves, might have been derived, not from Shakespeare, but from the same source as that from which Shakespeare derived them. But coming, as they do, in the works of a dramatist prompted by mingled feelings of jealousy and admiration to lose no opportunity of parodying or criticising the first play in which his great rival, meeting him on his own ground, took his plot from Roman history, and in a play in which there is at least one distinct reference to *Julius Cæsar*, they indicate that they also are a reference to that play, the popularity of which had evidently given the last words of Cæsar much the same vogue as the last words of Marmion have enjoyed since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

So much evidence to show that *Julius Cæsar* was brought out as early as the year 1599 is too strong to be shaken by Wright's argument based on the use of the

word "eternal" in I. ii. 158. "For some reason or other," he urges, "whereas in three plays which were all printed in 1600, Shakespeare uses the word 'infernal,' he substitutes 'eternal' for it in *Julius Cæsar*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*, and my inference is that he did so in obedience to the popular objections which were urged against the profanity of the stage, and that the plays in which 'eternal' occurs as the equivalent of 'infernal' were produced after 1600." In answer to this, it may be pointed out that "infernal" was never a favourite word of Shakespeare's, and is only thrice found in his dramas, and that "eternal" in I. ii. 158 can hardly be regarded as a substitute for "infernal," which would be an extremely weak epithet for the devil, while eternity is quite as naturally attributed to the devil as to his bonfire in *Macbeth*, II. iii. 22. Therefore Wright's argument cannot be regarded as giving even a slight presumption in favour of the date that it is supposed to indicate, and, even if it had some weight, must yield to the strong proof of an earlier date brought forward by Percy Simpson.

The earlier date is also supported by the evidence of the most trustworthy of those metrical tests, by which the chronological order of Shakespeare's plays is determined. It has been found by experiment that in Shakespeare's later plays there are more lines with double endings, that is, with extra syllables added at the end of the five regular feet, as in

> Well, honour is the subject of my story,

than in his earlier plays. Now in *Julius Cæsar* there are fewer of these weak endings than in *Henry V.*, brought

out in 1599, and not many more than in the *Merchant of Venice*, which was composed before 1598. With the exception of *Pericles* and *Timon*, which, as being to a large extent the work of other dramatists, cannot be taken into account, all the other plays of Shakespeare attributed to 1600 and later dates have a larger proportion of double endings than *Julius Cæsar*.

Lastly, we come to the chronological evidence afforded by the style. Dowden has shown how in Shakespeare's later plays the language is overburdened with the weight of thought and becomes obscure, while in the middle period of his dramatic workmanship thought and language are commensurate, so that the latter can easily and clearly express the former. This contrast may be readily illustrated by comparing *Julius Cæsar* with *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, the Roman tragedies that were composed after an interval of at least eight or nine years. But as, in considering the evidence of style, the subjective element may pervert our judgment, and we may be suspected of exaggerating the comparative clearness of the language of *Julius Cæsar*, owing to our preconceived opinion of the date of the authorship, it is well to be able to appeal to impartial evidence on the subject. This is afforded in his *Shakespeare and his Predecessors* by Boas, who, although he thinks that "1600–1601 may be confidently accepted as the date" of the play, nevertheless points out that "the style of the drama is similar to that of the best comedies and English history-plays," thus bringing us back to the time of the composition of the *Merchant of Venice* and *Henry V.*, and connecting our play chronologically with those

dramas rather than with the great tragedies of what is called the third period of the development of Shakespeare's dramatic art. This conclusion is further supported by the internal evidence afforded by the allusions to Cæsar in plays written before 1600. As Portia is a Roman character, whose heroism would not be likely to be known to other than classical scholars, the reference to her in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 166, makes it probable that Shakespeare had already begun to study Plutarch when he was writing that play. Further interest in Plutarch is indicated by the references in the Second Part of *Henry IV.* (1597–1598) and in *As You Like It* (1599–1600) to striking events recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*, by the mention of Alexander and Pompey in *Henry V.* (1599), and still more by the prologue to the fifth act, in which it is related how the mayor, the aldermen, and the citizens of London,

> Like to the senators of the antique Rome,
> With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
> Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in.

As Mark Hunter points out, this historical parallel drawn from an unimportant episode of Cæsar's life recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Antony* may well be due to the fact that "when the prologue in question was composed, Shakespeare had recently been studying Plutarch, and probably with a view to a play on the subject of Julius Cæsar."

Thus the internal evidence afforded by the study of *Julius Cæsar* and other plays is in harmony with or even directly supports Percy Simpson's inference from the external evidence in the Dedication to the *Mirror of*

Martyrs, that *Julius Cæsar* was composed not later than the year 1599.

Julius Cæsar is one of the plays of which Moulton gives an elaborate analysis to illustrate the principles of Shakespeare's dramatic art. As he points out, the distinguishing characteristic in the construction of the play is that the climax is in the centre and not at the end. In this feature it closely resembles the *Ajax* of Sophocles. In that play the tragic interest is maintained at a high pitch until the death of Ajax puts an end to the hopes and fears of the spectators. Yet after that great catastrophe the play runs on for some hundreds of lines, which to modern readers at any rate appear to be a tedious and unnecessary continuation. In Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, too, it would appear to be inevitable that the interest of the play must fall off after the successful accomplishment of the plot and the death of the great man, whose life and death have so long been trembling in the balance. This natural result of the disappearance from the stage of the great and imposing personality of Cæsar is, however, prevented, or at any rate postponed for a while, by the rich resources of the poet's genius. Immediately after Cæsar's death comes the dramatic meeting of the conspirators with Antony, the destined avenger, who immediately comes forward as the ἔφεδρος of his dead friend and patron. In this interview Antony obtains permission to deliver his famous funeral speech, by the oratorical power of which the feelings of the spectators are more powerfully moved to pity and sympathy than they were at the scene of the actual assassination. After the subsidence of the effect produced by Antony's eloquence our interest is allowed to

flag for a while during the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth act. We begin once more to think that the wine of life is at the lees, and that our feelings cannot again be powerfully excited by the drama. However, a surprise is in store for us. A new source of interest is provided in the quarrel and reconciliation of Brutus and Cassius, which is not only of surpassing beauty and a splendid specimen of dramatic art, but also revives our sympathy with the two chief conspirators, who had somewhat fallen in our estimation, owing to the vivid portrayal of their victim's greatness and goodness in Antony's speech. That this scene was as much appreciated by Elizabethan audiences as it is at the present day, is shown by the eulogistic lines contributed to the 1640 edition of the *Poems* by Leonard Digges:

> So have I seen when Cæsar would appear,
> And on the stage at half-sword parley were
> Brutus and Cassius, O, how the audience
> Were ravish'd! With what wonder they went hence!
> When some new day they would not brook a line
> Of tedious, though well-laboured, *Catiline*.

It must be admitted that in the fifth act the interest of the play is not sustained at such a high pitch as in the preceding acts. It begins with a parley, in which the leaders of the opposing armies indulge in mutual taunts and recriminations, a scene which is not suggested by anything in Plutarch, and which reminds us of the bandying of abuse between Warwick on the one side and Edward IV. and Gloucester on the other before the battle of Barnet (*3 Henry VI.* v. i.), and several other passages in Shakespeare's earlier historical plays, *e.g.*, *1 Henry VI.* III. ii. and *King John*, II. i. The battle piece which follows is an im-

pressive scene of dreary desolation, with its long-drawn farewells and monotonous repetition of evil omens, deaths, and suicides. Like De Quincey in his *Opium Eater*, we have a vision of "sudden alarms, hurryings to and fro, trepidations of innumerable fugitives, darkness and light, tempest and human faces, and at last with a sense that all was lost . . . clasped hands with heart-breaking partings, and then—everlasting farewells." When all is over and the battle is lost and won, Shakespeare, according to the practice that he usually follows at the end of his tragedies, sets about restoring our strained feelings to peace and contentment. The concluding speeches of Octavius and Antony give us the satisfaction of knowing that the virtue of Brutus is recognised even by his enemies, and that his dead body is to receive honourable treatment, so that he too, like Duncan, after the fitful fever of life, may sleep well.

As already indicated, the central point of interest in the drama is also the central point in the order of the events represented, namely, the assassination of Julius Cæsar. The artistic unity and symmetry of the play is mainly secured by the fact that everything in the first two acts leads up to this great historical event, that the death of Cæsar and its immediate consequences form the subject-matter of the third act, and that the last two acts narrate the necessary but more remote consequences of Cæsar's death down to their natural conclusion in the death and defeat of the two conspirators at the battle of Philippi. The play is further bound into one whole by the chain of Nemesis, which links together the principal

incidents and connects them with what went before in Roman history. Just as in the story of the *Iliad* the death of Patroclus leads to that of Hector, and Hector's death requires the death of his conqueror, which he foretells with his last breath, so we are led to regard the assassination of Cæsar at the foot of the statue of Pompey the Great as an appropriate sequel to Pharsalia, and Philippi as retribution for the assassination of Cæsar. And as the unseemly exultation of Hector and Achilles over their fallen enemies provokes Nemesis more than their success on the field of battle, so Shakespeare makes Cæsar provoke Nemesis by his imperial pride, and still more by daring to triumph over the conquered at Munda, although they were not only Roman citizens, but also the sons of the great adversary through whose overthrow he had risen so high. His slayers in their turn provoke Nemesis by washing their hands in their victim's blood, and by their triumphant anticipation of the admiration of posterity. Thus the unity of action is doubly provided for.

On the other hand, at first sight the unity of the action seems to be impaired in the middle of the play by the overthrow of the great man, whose fate is in the beginning of the play the main centre of interest. This apparent breach of continuity is, however, repaired by the art of the poet, inasmuch as the dead Cæsar is represented as still acting with tremendous efficacy in the spirit, which ranges far and wide on its mission of vengeance, haunts Brutus, and makes the conspirators turn their swords against themselves, while his bodily presence is, as it were, continued in his avenger Mark Antony, and still more in

the person of his heir and successor, the other Cæsar, who is not doomed to add slaughter to the sword of traitors. This posthumous prolongation of Cæsar's power is, it may be remarked, not a fiction of the poet's. It is in accordance with historical fact and with Plutarch's account of the consequences of Cæsar's death. What was said by Macaulay of the execution of Charles I. may be asserted with even greater truth of the assassination of Cæsar. It was not only a crime but also a blunder. The degenerate Roman world could not do without a master. This historical truth is amusingly manifested by one of the spokesmen of the Roman crowd, who expresses his admiration of Brutus by proposing that Brutus should be Cæsar! The spirit of Cæsarism was rather strengthened than weakened by Cæsar's death. Soon afterwards Cicero had bitter reason to exclaim, "We have taken away the tyrant; the tyranny survives." As to the fruits that the individual conspirators reaped from their action, Plutarch relates that Cæsar's "great prosperity and good fortune that favoured him all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death, pursuing the murderers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death." Plutarch is also the authority for the story of the spirit that twice appeared to Brutus. He does not, however, declare the spirit that appeared at Sardis and Philippi to have been the ghost of Cæsar. It is Shakespeare who identifies the dim phantom of Plutarch with the spirit of the dead dictator, and thus, by an impressive use of the supernatural machinery supplied by Plutarch,

manifests in a visible form the survival and powerful working of Cæsar's personality after death, so that Brutus exclaims over the dead body of Cassius:

> O Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet!
> Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords
> In our own proper entrails;

and, when his hour has come and he prepares to run on his own sword, his last words are,

> Cæsar, now be still:
> I killed not thee with half so good a will.

On the grounds that the personality of Julius Cæsar is thus continued to the final act with no diminution of power, and that the play bears his name, some commentators maintain that he is intended by the poet to be the hero of the drama. The case of *Cymbeline*, however, shows clearly that the title of a Shakespearian play does not determine who is the hero. No one can be regarded as the hero of a drama unless his personality or his fortune is the principal subject on which our interests are centred from the beginning to the end. This cannot be said of Cæsar. In the first two acts of the drama our interest is about equally divided between him and the conspirators, and in the last two acts, although we are not allowed to forget Cæsar, our sympathy is almost entirely concentrated on the declining fortunes of Brutus and Cassius. Can we then accept the view of Dr. Immanuel Schmidt and other commentators, who maintain that Brutus is the hero of the play? This opinion cannot be rejected on account of the defects that will be found in the character of Brutus. The weak points in Hamlet and Othello are generally recognised, but no one

has ventured to dispute their claim to be the heroes of the two great tragedies which are named after them. The claim of Brutus to the first position in *Julius Cæsar* has to be rejected, but on other grounds, namely, on the subordinate position he occupies in large and important portions of the drama. In the first half of the play, as we have seen, our interests and sympathies are almost equally balanced between Cæsar and the conspirators. But Brutus is only one of the conspirators, a band including not only Cassius, but also Casca, who plays a very conspicuous part up to the moment of the death of Cæsar. If up to the great catastrophe we compare Brutus alone with Cæsar, we shall be conscious that the historical greatness of the name and the fame of the latter entirely casts the former into the shade. In the latter half of the third act, after the assassination of Cæsar, the funeral speech of Antony, by exalting the glory of Cæsar and rousing the passions of the mob, reduces Brutus with the other conspirators for the time to obscurity and insignificance. Even in the last two acts of the play it is on Brutus and Cassius rather than on Brutus alone that our attention is fixed, until the concluding speeches of Antony and Octavius exalt Brutus above his friend and brother. From these considerations it will be seen that Shakespeare never intended that Brutus should be the hero of the play, and this conclusion is supported by the title. Although we cannot infer that Julius Cæsar was meant to be the hero, because his name is given to the play, we may be pretty certain that, if Brutus had been intended to be the hero, the play would have been called Brutus and not Julius Cæsar.

It is an unjustifiable insult to our great poet to suppose that he intended Brutus to be the hero, but refused to give the play the name of Brutus, because he thought that the great name of Julius Cæsar would prove more attractive to the playgoing public of his time. We may rather suppose that, as the drama had no one hero, in the sense in which Hamlet and Othello are the heroes of the two great tragedies of which they are the subject, he followed the practice he had followed in his English historical plays, and gave his first Roman play the name of him who was to all intents and purposes the monarch of Rome at the time when he fell beneath the daggers of the conspirators.

Julius Cæsar may then be described as a play without a hero, inasmuch as it does not chain our attention to any one principal figure. But if it has no hero in this sense of the word, it is far from being destitute of heroic characters, whose greatness and weaknesses must now be subjected to detailed examination.

Shakespeare's treatment of Julius Cæsar is at first sight extremely disappointing. A noble and full representation of one of the greatest characters in the history of the world is naturally expected from the greatest of dramatic poets. This expectation is certainly not fulfilled. The representation that Shakespeare has given us of the living Julius Cæsar in the first half of the play is so one-sided and unappreciative, that at first sight it painfully reminds us of the cynical travesties of the Homeric heroes in *Troilus and Cressida.* Shakespeare's Cæsar is pompous, theatrical, subject to epileptic fits, fond of flattery, superstitious, and servile in his attitude

to the rabble of Rome. His vanity makes him eager for the empty honour of a kingly diadem, but he is so weak that the disapproval of the mob makes him reject the proffered honour. The same vacillating disposition is manifested in the second scene of the second act. He first haughtily rejects Calpurnia's advice that he should stay at home, then yields to her solicitations, and finally is persuaded by Decius Brutus to change his mind again and go to the senate-house. We are even led to doubt his courage. Decius Brutus says:

> But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
> He says he does, being then most flattered;

and his cynical account of the great man is justified by the success of his persuasions. So, when Cæsar expresses in bombastic language his contempt of danger (II. ii. 44–48), he is naturally suspected of being really timid, especially as he immediately afterwards consents to yield to his wife's fears, and determines to send an excuse to the senators. No reference is made to all that he had done for Rome and the human race, nor to the great schemes that were left unaccomplished at his death. Instead of the real historical Cæsar's lively energetic personality, full of impetuosity and audacity, never at a loss for the word and action required in any emergency, we are presented with a heavy figure that moves slowly over the stage, uttering grandiloquent sentences and affecting extreme firmness and superiority to all feelings of danger, but really full of anxiety and wavering to and fro under the influence of the wills of others.

On the other hand, Julius Cæsar is far from being represented throughout the play as an entirely ignoble

character. In his reception of the conspirators, when they come to his house, he manifests the courtesy and urbanity for which he was famous. On the way to the Senate, he postpones the reading of the paper presented by Artemidorus, remarking,

> What touches us ourself shall be last serv'd,

and his noble spirit of self-denial costs him his life. It is not a tyrant, but a ruler anxious to follow the principles of justice and benevolence, who opens the meeting of the Senate by inviting appeals for redress of anything that has been done amiss (III. i. 31). Even Brutus admits that Cæsar, as a ruler, has been guided by reason. Finally, after his death, we hear little of the defects of Cæsar, and see only the nobler side of his character. Not only in his funeral speech, but also before that in his conference with the conspirators, Mark Antony gives a splendid picture of the military glory, public spirit, and benevolence of his dead friend and leader, whom he describes as "the noblest man that ever lived in the tide of times" (III. i. 257).

Nevertheless, though the nobler side of Cæsar's character is not entirely ignored, the general impression produced by Shakespeare's representation of him falls far below the real greatness of the founder of the Roman Empire, and we have to account for this discrepancy on historical or dramatic grounds. In the first place, it must be noticed that it did not suit Shakespeare's design to represent Cæsar in all the grandeur of his historic position and greatness of character, enhanced, as it might have been, to the highest pitch by poetic art and dramatic

power. Had he done so, the figures of the conspirators would have been completely dwarfed, and their great deed would have appeared to be a brutal and entirely inexcusable murder. The poet's aim was to produce in the first part of the play an even balance in our sympathies, so that they should waver to and fro, inclining alternately to Cæsar and the conspirators. This design is clearly manifested by the skilful management of the scenes in which we are induced at one time to share the anxiety of Calpurnia for her husband, and at another to listen with agonised suspense to the rumours that the air conveys or seems to convey to Portia from the Capitol.

But although considerations of dramatic effect required that Cæsar's greatness should not be represented in all its dazzling brightness, it was not lawful for Shakespeare in a historical play to be guilty of any material misrepresentation of the great facts of history. Nor has Shakespeare done so. His representation of Cæsar may be described as rather one-sided or inadequate than untrue. Every one of the defects attributed to Julius Cæsar by Shakespeare is mentioned or implied in Plutarch. We must remember that Shakespeare is concerned with the last phase of Cæsar's life and character. It is evident from Plutarch's account, and still more from the pages of Suetonius, that Cæsar at the end of his life showed signs of deterioration in mind and body, as Napoleon did at a somewhat earlier age during the Waterloo campaign. It seems strange to hear the author of the *Commentaries*, one of the simplest and most unpretending narratives of great deeds that can be found in the autobiographical literature of ancient and modern times,

speaking of himself in high-flown language as if he were conscious of being exalted far above human nature. But this will cease to surprise us if we may believe Suetonius' information, that he declared that his "words ought to be regarded as laws," and still more that he had a golden chair in the Senate, that his statue was carried through the Circus with the same pomp as the statues of the gods, and that he had temples, altars, and priests. If he is represented by Shakespeare as treating the Senate, "his Senate" as he calls it (III. i. 32), with impolitic haughtiness and disdain, we read in Plutarch that once when the Consuls, Prætors, and the whole Senate came to confer new honours upon him, he remained "sitting still in his majesty, disdaining to rise up unto them when they came in," which "did not only offend the Senate but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteem the magistrates of the commonwealth." Afterwards, when he reached his house, he bared his neck and "cried aloud to his friends that his throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it." Plutarch relates that he made a similar theatrical exhibition of himself a second time at the Lupercalia, which is reproduced in Casca's account of what happened at the feast. Plutarch is not responsible for Cæsar's expressed belief in the efficacy of the leather thongs to avert the "sterile curse" (I. ii. 9), but it is evident that he had "superstitious grown of late" (II. i. 195), for he who had fought and won the battle of Munda in spite of adverse omens, is said by Plutarch to have determined to adjourn the fatal meeting of the Senate on the ides of March because the sacrifices were unfavourable, and by Dion to have propitiated Nemesis

by crawling up the steps of the Capitol on the occasion of one of his triumphs. The case of Louis XI. of France illustrates the compatibility of free-thinking with superstition, so that Shakespeare was perfectly justified in following his authorities and ascribing this combination to Julius Cæsar. The same may be said of the physical defects of Cæsar, to which such prominence is given in the conspirators' conversations. Plutarch relates that he was often "subject to headache and otherwhile to the falling sickness." The deafness which Shakespeare adds to the list of his physical defects, may be regarded as due to the epileptic attacks from which he suffered.

It may, however, be urged that a one-sided account, even though all that it asserts is true, is to all intents and purposes false, because it conveys a false impression. A biographer who, in giving an account of Nelson's character, dwelt too exclusively on the weak points in his character, his peevishness, his impatience of control, his "thrasonical brags," his infatuation for Lady Hamilton, and his readiness to receive the incense of flattery that she poured so profusely upon him, would be condemned as untrue, even though he could prove by indubitable testimony all that he asserted. The fact, however, that *Julius Cæsar* is a dramatic work prevents its author from being subject to such a condemnation. We have to bear in mind that from the conditions of the drama our impressions of the characters are based upon what they say themselves and what is said of them by the other characters. With regard to the latter kind of evidence, it is plain that the defects of Julius Cæsar are with dramatic propriety given undue prominence in the speeches of the

conspirators, Cassius, Casca, and Decius Brutus, who could not well be expected to express admiration of his greater characteristics. So far as Cæsar himself reveals his weakness by his own acts and words, we must consider the circumstances under which this self-revelation takes place, namely, in the privacy of his home, when he is in conference with his wife and with one whom he considered to be his devoted friend. Towards the end of the scene he calls for his toga, throws off with his undress "night-gown" all appearance of vacillation and weakness, and henceforward acts and speaks in a manner not unworthy of his high place in history. Indeed, the whole catalogue of defects objected against Cæsar by the conspirators, or revealed by himself in the privacy of his home, does not amount to very much. They are not incompatible with true greatness, and only illustrate the truth conveyed in the proverb, that no man is a hero to his valet. If this is the case, it is, as Carlyle remarks, discreditable rather to the valet than to the hero. The greatest hero that ever lived cannot hope to be exempt from human weaknesses, and in Cæsar's case the superficial defects in his character became more prominent towards the end of his life. Shakespeare is constrained by the conditions of the dramatic art, and by the exigencies of the plan of this particular drama, to dwell upon these defects in the beginning of the play. He shows, however, by the magnificent eulogy pronounced upon Cæsar by Mark Antony, and by the references to Cæsar in his other plays, that, although he recognised his human frailty, he was by no means inclined to underrate the greatness of his intellect, character, and achievements.

Shakespeare's conception of Brutus does not present so much difficulty as his conception of Julius Cæsar. Nevertheless here, too, there must be some grounds of controversy, for, while most commentators find a strong family likeness between Brutus and Hamlet, Gervinus is of opinion that he closely resembles Hamlet's opposite, the matter-of-fact Horatio. The opinion of Gervinus on this subject may be dismissed as a paradox, which would be hardly worth mentioning except to illustrate the extraordinary difference in the estimates formed of even those who are seemingly the plainest of Shakespeare's characters, by the wisest commentators. There can, however, be no doubt that there is a close resemblance in two important points between Hamlet and Brutus. Both of them were primarily students and philosophers, and were suddenly called away from their books to do in the eyes of the world a great act of violence that seemed imposed upon them by imperious necessity. Hamlet wavered under the burden of the task that he had to fulfil, and postponed it again and again with fatal irresolution. Brutus, on the contrary, as soon as he had convinced himself that Cæsar ought to be slain, took the earliest opportunity of killing him. Still, to some extent, it may be said that in the case of Brutus, as Goethe said of Hamlet, "a lovely, pure, noble, and most moral nature, without the strength of nerve which forms a hero, sinks beneath a burden which it cannot bear and must not cast away." His failure as a political leader is brought into clear light by the contrast made between him and Cassius, who is in every way better fitted to be the leader of the conspirators. Brutus is taken into the conspiracy in order that his high

reputation for virtue may convince the world of the purity of the conspirators' motives. So great is the deference paid to his honour, that he is immediately allowed to take the first place. His idea of conducting a conspiracy for assassination on strictly moral principles is found to be impracticable. He cannot himself exact money by unjust means, but the money is necessary for his troops. He has therefore to ask supplies from Cassius, who is less scrupulous in his financial measures, and, when Cassius cannot give him all he wants, he is indignant and unjust to his friend. The natural feelings that he has violated by assassinating his benefactor oppress his mind, and make him conjure up the dread spectre that visits him at Sardis and before the battle of Philippi. His career ends in premature despair of success, followed by defeat and death.

But his life, though politically a failure, is from a moral point of view triumphant. Just before his death he proudly declares—

> I shall have glory by this losing day,
> More than Octavius and Mark Antony
> By this vile conquest shall attain unto.

His glory is that he has lived a virtuous life, and carried out in action the precepts of his philosophical guides with unswerving constancy. Shakespeare and Plutarch agree in describing Brutus as one of the most virtuous men that ever lived. Plutarch, after mentioning his promise to reward his soldiers for their valour by allowing them to sack the cities of Thessalonica and Lacedæmon, remarks that "in all Brutus' life there is but this only fault to be found." Shakespeare does not even refer to this

promise, lest it should detract from the flawless perfection of his virtue. Modern historians have accused Brutus of covetousness, on the strength of an account given in one of Cicero's letters of how he lent money to Ariobarzanes and the Salaminians at an enormously high rate of interest, and how eager he was that Cicero should exert his official power to exact payment from his debtors to the uttermost farthing. Plutarch, on the contrary, represents him as being free-handed to excess. He contrasts the moderation of Brutus in Asia Minor with the grasping exactions of Cassius, and the liberality of his gift of fifty silver drachmas to each soldier with "the misery and niggardliness" of Octavius. Again, when he heard that his soldiers had lost all their baggage, he "promised every man of them two thousand drachmas in recompense," a promise which made them "cheer again, wondering much at his great liberality." Shakespeare, no doubt, intends us to believe that he really felt the contempt for money that he expresses in the quarrel scene. In fact, whatever the historical Brutus may have been, the Brutus of Shakespeare and Plutarch is as free from the vice of covetousness as he is from all other vices. It has been truly said that no other Shakespearian hero rises to such a high pitch of moral perfection.

It does not follow from this that Brutus always did what was absolutely right. Moralists distinguish between subjective and objective rightness. Subjective rightness consists in doing what you believe to be right, objective rightness is determined by a standard of eternal law independent of the opinion of the agent. We may say that Brutus in the great act of his life was subjectively

right, but objectively wrong. This is evidently the opinion of Plutarch. Though his biographer holds up to our admiration the moral excellence of Brutus, as of one who "having framed his manners of life by the rules of virtue and study of philosophy, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things, was rightly made and framed unto virtue,' he nevertheless clearly condemns the assassination of Cæsar. He shows in his comparison between Dion and Brutus, that the latter had less justification for conspiring, as Cæsar's tyranny was rather nominal than real, and such was the condition of Rome that it evidently required a master, and Cæsar was no more than a tender and skilful physician appointed by Providence to heal the distempers of the State. Again, at the end of the life of Cæsar he points to the ghost that appeared to Brutus as "showing plainly that the gods were offended with the murder of Cæsar." Yet in this action he gives Brutus the credit of being actuated by the highest motives, the good of the community and justice. "For the good of the community," he remarks, "Brutus, though an enemy to Pompey, became his friend; and though a friend to Cæsar, he became his enemy. His enmity and his friendship arose from the same principle, which was justice."

How then does Shakespeare, who entirely agrees with Plutarch's high opinion of Brutus's moral excellence and also with his condemnation of Cæsar's murder, account for the action of Brutus? The answer to this is the soliloquy in which Brutus discusses with himself the question of the necessity of Cæsar's death? The general

tenor of his reflections on the subject is somewhat remarkable. He has no personal motive for killing Cæsar, and if he had, he is not the man to be swayed by personal considerations. He therefore carefully considers whether he cannot derive adequate motives for the contemplated deed from a consideration of the general good. Iago's soliloquy in *Othello*, I. iii., has been called by Coleridge "the motive-hunting of a motiveless malignity." The soliloquy of Brutus might almost be described as the motive-hunting of a motiveless benignity. Yet one would think that Brutus had a distinct enough motive for killing Cæsar. He was a republican, and Cæsar had overthrown the republic. The title of king that Cæsar was about to assume would merely be the verbal expression of his sovereignty that had already become an accomplished fact. He had therefore already committed what was in the eyes of any strict republican an unpardonable crime, which could not be atoned for by the excellence of his exercise of the power he had usurped. This is the view of Plutarch's Brutus, who remonstrates with Cicero because "he chose to be subject to a mild and courteous bondage," and indignantly reminded him that "their predecessors would never abide to be subject to any masters, how gentle or mild soever they were." Nevertheless Shakespeare's Brutus thinks that no justification for the assassination can be derived from what Cæsar actually was. He therefore goes out of his way to seek a justification in what seem to be improbable possibilities. Cæsar as virtual ruler of Rome had committed no excesses, but the title of king might possibly transform him into a cruel tyrant. Therefore he must

be killed. Brutus might well have concluded his soliloquy in the words of Iago:

> I know not if't be true;
> But I for mere suspicion in that kind
> Will do as if for surety.

Yet, however unconvincing this train of hypothetical reasoning may appear to us, we cannot for a moment doubt that it convinced Brutus of the righteousness of his cause, so that in Shakespeare, as in Plutarch, he is really regarded as taking part in the conspiracy for the sake of the general good and to satisfy his idea of justice, and this view of the unselfishness of his motives is confirmed by Antony's eulogy at the end of the play.

Virtuous characters are often more admired than loved, especially when they show themselves to be too clearly conscious of their superiority to the weaknesses of ordinary men. This pride of conscious virtue appears to have been expressed too plainly in the words and writings of the historical Brutus, for Cicero writes to Atticus: "Nullas unquam ad me litteras misit Brutus, in quibus non esset arrogans *ἀκοινώνητον* aliquid." It is also very apparent in Shakespeare's Brutus, especially in the quarrel scene (IV. iii. 66–69). His earnest pursuit of virtue amounts to a refined kind of egoism. The great object of his life is to show himself worthy of the name he derives from his famous ancestor, who expelled the Tarquins from Rome, and to live up to his own high ideal of virtue. He is really as ambitious as Cæsar, but his ambition takes a different form. He is ambitious, not of political power, but of personal honour,

the honour to be derived from living a consistently virtuous life. He might therefore say, like Henry V.,

> If it be a sin to covet honour,
> I am the most offending soul alive.

The desire to satisfy his high sense of his own honour is the ultimate motive that leads him to do the great act of his life. His honour requires him to shrink from no virtuous act. He persuades himself that the consideration of the general good requires him to kill Cæsar. Having once determined that the act is dictated by the virtues of justice and benevolence, he must do it or forfeit his claim to be regarded as a virtuous man. He is very different from Othello, as he is of a comparatively cold and passionless disposition. But he resembles Othello inasmuch as his high sense of honour is brought into conflict with strong personal affection, and gains the victory in the struggle. Like Othello, he might call himself an "honourable murderer," since "nought he did in hate but all in honour." He is ready to offer his life as a sacrifice to his honour (I. ii. 86), and it is to his honour that Cassius makes his strongest appeal. In his speech to the multitude he appeals to them to believe him for his honour, and to have respect to his honour, and such is the impression that he has made upon the world by his reputation for virtue, that they are not entirely deaf to his appeal. In his last moments he finds some satisfaction that the man who helps him to get rid of the burden of life has "some smatch of honour" (V. v. 46). He even goes so far in his high self-estimate of himself and his honour, as to think death at his hands an honour that any young man might reasonably be expected to

desire (v. i. 59, 60). This high opinion of himself and what is due to his name and fame would be far from attractive, if it were not tempered by engaging courtesy towards his associates and by the tenderest consideration for his inferiors.

Cassius is evidently intended to bring out the main features of the character of Brutus more distinctly by contrast. This contrast is clearly marked in Plutarch. Brutus, we read, "having framed his manners of life by the rules of virtue and study of philosophy, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting great things, methinks he was rightly made and framed unto virtue," whereas Cassius was "not so well given and conditioned as he." Further on we are told that it was reported that "Brutus could evil away with the tyranny, and that Cassius hated the tyrant"; and, again, that Cassius was commonly reputed "to be very skilful in wars but otherwise marvellous choleric and cruel," but "Brutus in contrary manner, for his virtue and valiantness, was well beloved of the people and his own, because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble minded, and would never be in any rage, nor carried away with pleasure and covetousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yield to any wrong or injustice." Shakespeare works into his play almost all the characteristics indicated in these antitheses. He makes Cassius himself confess his choleric nature in his dispute with Brutus (IV. iii. 119, and compare 43, 46). He illustrates both his choler and his cruelty by inventing the incident of the slain standard-bearer (v. iii. 4), and his cruelty is implied in

Brutus' remark that *he* could not wring from the hard hands of peasants their vile trash by any indirection. Shakespeare adds to the contrast by representing Brutus as finding solace in the strains of Lucius' instrument, while Cassius shows his fitness for stratagems and conspiracies by the fact that he "hears no music" (I. ii. 201). Cassius has more political foresight and more military skill than Brutus, but he is inferior to Brutus in force of will. Both Plutarch and Cicero quote a remark that Cæsar is said to have made on Brutus, "Quidquid vult, valde vult"; and Plutarch adds that when his mind "was moved to follow any matter, he used a kind of forcible and vehement persuasion, that calmed not till he had obtained his desire." The strength of Brutus's will and the forcibleness of his vehement persuasion are shown by the manner in which he overrules the wiser opinion of Cassius, with results ruinous to his party—firstly when he refuses to consent to the death of Antony, secondly when he permits him to deliver the funeral oration, and thirdly when he insists on giving battle at Philippi. The passionate excitable nature of Cassius, on the other hand, makes him less calm than Brutus at the moment of action, so that just before the time fixed for the assassination he is very near spoiling everything by precipitate action (III. i. 19–22). His harsh, choleric disposition makes him less amiable than the gentle Brutus, and this want of attractiveness gives pain to his nature, which was passionate and loving, and made him secretly hunger after the love of his fellow-men. He thus feels distress at the way in which Brutus appears to neglect him (I. ii. 31–34), and his hatred of Cæsar may be regarded as

partly due to the affectionate relations in which Brutus and Cæsar stood towards each other and from which he was excluded (I. ii. 318; IV. iii. 105). It is his sense of unrequited friendship that makes him resent so bitterly Brutus's neglect of his wishes in the case of Lucius Pella, and feel so deeply the taunts of Brutus in the quarrel scene. Being prone to hero-worship, he has from constant association with Brutus come to regard him with a loving admiration for his noble character, which Brutus, being of a colder disposition, and seeing less to admire in the character of Cassius, by no means returns in an equal degree. For Brutus is as much less passionate than Cassius both in anger and affection, as he is superior to him in moral virtue. We must not, however, exaggerate the moral inferiority of Cassius. He is less unscrupulous in the employment of means for the attainment of his ends than Brutus is. But we cannot for a moment accept the interpretation of I. ii. 313–315, which would make him out to be consciously trying to seduce Brutus from the path of honour. Cassius is evidently intended by the poet to secure a considerable portion of our interest and sympathy, and is very far indeed from being a villain. Too much is made of the passage already quoted from the *Life of Brutus*, in which Plutarch says that "Brutus could evil away with the tyranny, and that Cassius hated the tyrant." This is not intended to imply that Cassius became a tyrannicide only through hatred of the particular tyrant whom he overthrew, for immediately after making this antithesis Plutarch tells an anecdote showing that "Cassius even from his cradle could not abide any manner of tyrants." In Plutarch and still more

in Shakespeare Cassius is represented as a man of true republican spirit, whose passionate temper and real or fancied injuries made him feel a strong personal hatred against the great subverter of Roman republicanism. Had he been actuated by no higher motives than malice and envy, he would neither have won the devotion of his followers, who were faithful to death, nor the friendship of Brutus.

Brutus is contrasted not only with his friend Cassius but also with his enemy Antony. The main point of contrast is very plain: Antony is a dissolute sensualist, while Brutus is an austere moralist, distinguished by his strict life. Brutus is narrow-minded; Antony is susceptible to every kind of beauty, even to the beauty of virtue to which he himself makes no pretence. Thus it is that, while Brutus wrongly supposes that Antony being a lover of sports and pleasure is a person who need not be seriously considered as a possible adversary (II. i. 185–189), Antony can appreciate the nobility of Brutus's character, and give an eloquent testimony to the purity of his motives (V. v. 68–75). His æsthetic susceptibility is so strong that he thoroughly appreciates the sublimity of the spectacle presented by the conspirators standing with their bloody swords over the body of their mighty victim, whom he sees lying as an offering to Nemesis at the foot of Pompey's statue. At the same time he is so keenly alive to all means of furthering his ambitious projects, that the admiration he expresses for the scene before him is intended to disarm the hostility and suspicions of the conspirators, just as he afterwards finds in his friendship for the dead friend, to whom he was really devotedly

attached, a means to discomfit his political adversaries and raise himself to the highest position of power in Rome.

The contrast between his political dexterity and the simplicity of Brutus, between his wealth of imagination and emotional susceptibility and Brutus's cold and rational temperament, is brought out most plainly in the speeches of the two men. The difference is in the first place plainly indicated by the fact that the speech of Brutus is in prose and that of Antony is in verse. The evenly-balanced sentences of Brutus express his calm confidence in himself and in the righteousness of his cause, but do not to any great extent move his audience. He makes an appeal, which is not a very strong appeal, to their reasoning powers, and his drift is so entirely incomprehensible to them, that they are disposed to reward him for his polite deference to their opinions by exalting him to the place left vacant by Cæsar's death. His great fault as an orator is that he entirely fails to adapt his speech to his hearers. He speaks to the degraded mob as if they were patriotic Romans full of republican ardour, and as enlightened as the citizens of Plato's republic. Antony's procedure is very different. He knows well that to give reasons to an excited mob is to cast pearls before swine. He is evidently making an ironical reference to Brutus's folly, when he tells his hearers that the wise and honourable conspirators will no doubt with reasons answer them (III. ii. 222), but for himself he appeals to their feelings. In accordance with the principle frequently insisted upon by Cicero, that the orator who wishes to move his audience must himself manifest the feelings he wishes to excite, we find him in his speech giving the loose to his

own emotional nature, and depicting his grief, anger, and affection in the rich flow of his Asiatic eloquence.[1] He also applies with great effect the well-known principle expressed in Horace's lines:

> Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus,

when he emphasises his remarks by pointing to the rents in Cæsar's garment and suddenly tearing the robe away and revealing the mangled body of Cæsar (III. ii. 203, 204). Thus, although Shakespeare had probably never read in the original or in translations any of Cicero's oratorical treatises, he happens to attribute to his Antony the same magnetic influence of real passion felt by the speaker and transmitted to the audience, and the same overpowering appeal to pity and indignation by tearing away the robe and displaying the wounds of the subject of his eulogy, as were employed with such effect on a similar occasion by his grandfather, the famous orator, who is represented by Cicero (*De Oratore*, II. xlvii.) as saying to Crassus: "Quem enim ego consulem fuisse, imperatorem ornatum a senatu, ovantem in Capitolium ascendisse meminissem, hunc cum afflictum, debilitatum, moerentem, in summum discrimen adductum viderem, non prius sum conatus misericordiam aliis commovere, quam misericordia sum ipse captus. Sensi equidem tum magnopere moveri judices, cum excitavi moestum et sordidatum senem, et cum ista feci, quæ tu,

[1] Plutarch says that "he used a manner of phrase in his speech called Asiatic, which carried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish bravery, and vain ambition."

Crasse, laudas, non arte, de qua quid loquar nescio, sed motu magno animi ac dolore, ut discinderem tunicam, ut cicatrices ostenderem."

Another device employed in the speech reminds us of the artifices of Iago. Antony, knowing that his hearers are in such a state of mind that they will not listen to reason, suggests that possibly, although he does not know it, some satisfactory justification may be given of the assassination (III. ii. 216–222), and exasperates them further by making a show of opposition to their anger, just as Iago, when he has sown the seed of suspicion in Othello's mind, raises him to a more violent pitch of anger against Desdemona by seeming to argue against his jealousy,[1] and urging him to control his temper. He also, like Iago, conceals his cleverness and cunning under the garb of blunt honesty (III. ii. 225). This affectation of bluntness and straightforwardness is in accordance with the principle followed by Pericles and enunciated by Whateley, that the orator should depreciate his own powers of persuasion, "since whatever is attributed to the eloquence of the speaker is so much deducted from the strength of his cause." In fact, a large number of the most effective methods of persuasion that can be derived from the art of rhetoric and from knowledge of human nature may be found exemplified in this famous masterpiece of Shakespearian oratory.[2]

The personality of Casca has a peculiar interest, inasmuch as his is the only character in the play entirely evolved out of the poet's own consciousness. His name

[1] See *Othello*, III. iii. 432: "She may be honest yet."

[2] The speech of Antony in Appian's *History of the Civil Wars* (transl. by Bynniman in 1578) has been suggested as possibly affording a few hints to Shakespeare. At the best the debt is doubtful, and of the slightest importance.—R. H. C.

is well known in history as that of the conspirator who struck the first blow. Shakespeare introduces him as the narrator of what took place at the Lupercalia, and, as it is his object at this portion of the play to let us see Cæsar in the light in which he appeared to his detractors, he endows Casca with a coarse kind of cynical humour. In the third scene he is utilised again as the narrator of the prodigies that foretold Cæsar's death. Here the signs and wonders that he has seen have frightened him out of his cynicism, and he is contrasted with Cicero, whose intellectual scepticism prevents him from being deeply impressed by the disturbed sky. In his conversation he is distinguished from his associates by his rude words and demeanour like that of

> some fellow
> Who, having been praised for bluntness, doth affect
> A saucy roughness, and constrains the garb
> Quite from his nature; he cannot flatter, he,
> An honest mind and plain, he must speak truth,

and yet in the presence of Cæsar at the Lupercalia it is he who leads the chorus of obsequious adulation (I. ii. 1–13). In the meeting of the conspirators he shows again the want of constancy in his character, by first supporting the proposal of Cassius to invite the adhesion of Cicero, and then immediately after going round to the opposite opinion of Brutus. Casca plays a prominent part in the beginning of the play, but, after he has carried out the dramatic purpose for which he was intended, he disappears somewhat suddenly from the action, although Plutarch informs us that he was present at the battle of Philippi, where he distinguished himself by his cruelty.

The paucity and unimportance of the female char-

acters give an air of austerity to *Julius Cæsar* as compared with Shakespeare's other plays. In this drama Portia and Calpurnia are the only women among the *dramatis personæ*. The latter answers to Pope's description of women in general as having no character at all. We can only say of her that she manifests a proper spirit of wifely solicitude for her husband's safety. Portia, on the contrary, is a woman of the noblest character. She is a heroic example of the Roman wife, corresponding to the example of Roman motherhood afterwards given in the character of Volumnia. So far as a good woman can resemble a bad one, she resembles Lady Macbeth. They are both of them women of high spirit and dauntless courage, who inspire their husbands with resolution to do and dare terrible deeds. In both of them at first the will-power seems entirely superior to the weakness inherent in their sex, but eventually their highly-strung nervous temperament breaks down under the tremendous strain to which it is subjected. At the great crisis when Duncan's fate is trembling in the balance, Lady Macbeth surpasses her husband in courage and resolution; but when the deed is done, and action is no longer required, she swoons, and ever afterwards in her sleep the horror of what she has gone through overpowers her till she dies. In like manner Portia has such strength of will, that she inflicts a severe wound on herself to prove her constancy; but the agony of suspense, when she is left at home, is too great for her. She then realises "how weak a thing the heart of woman is." She who had declared that the wife of Brutus and the daughter of Cato might be expected to be stronger than

her sex, and that the voluntary wound she had given herself proved her possession of constancy enough to preserve her husband's secrets, utters an exclamation that might have led to the discovery of the whole plot. In the end she yields to despair, although before the battle of Philippi and the death of her husband there was no sufficient reason for despair, and commits suicide. It must further be remarked that she did not kill herself with calm resolution after the Roman manner exemplified by her father, her husband, and Cassius, but in a fit of temporary madness due to grief and impatience (IV iii. 151–155).

There still remains for consideration the character of the mob, a collective personage that plays an important part in several of Shakespeare's historical plays. The mob in Shakespeare corresponds in some respects to the chorus in Greek plays. It holds an intermediate position between the actors and the audience. In *Julius Cæsar*, the speeches of Marullus, Brutus, and Antony are heard by two audiences—the mob of Rome on the stage, and the spectators seated on the benches of the theatre. The remarks made by the Roman citizens help the spectators to enter into the spirit of the speeches, and to some extent guide their sentiments, although not to the same extent as the chorus in ancient tragedy was intended to lead the sentiments of Greek spectators in the right direction. For the chorus in Greek tragedy always expresses feelings that would naturally be produced in well-regulated human minds, whereas Shakespeare's mobs are sometimes stupid and wicked. *Julius Cæsar*, *Coriolanus*, and the Second Part of *Henry VI.* make it perfectly

plain that Shakespeare heartily despised the multitude. If we want a direct expression of Shakespeare's opinion of the character of the many, we find it in the Induction to the Second Part of *Henry IV.*, where Rumour speaks of

> the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
> The still-discordant wavering multitude.

Their fickleness is illustrated in the first scene of the first act of *Julius Cæsar*, and still more in the second scene of the third act. In the last scene of the third act we have a specimen of their brutal cruelty, and also of the curious fact, so abundantly illustrated by the French Revolution, that a large collection of men can be guilty of excesses that no single member of the collection would approve of if he stood alone. No one of the individuals composing the mob would have thought for a moment of killing a man simply because he happened to bear the name of a person whom they hated, and yet to do so seems a good joke to the murderers of Cinna. It is a significant fact that Shakespeare deliberately goes out of his way to add this touch of wanton injustice to the character of the Roman mob. In Plutarch's account the citizens kill Cinna because they really think him to be the conspirator of that name. Another characteristic that Shakespeare attributes to the crowd is fondness for logic of a sort. Though they are entirely led by their feelings, they like to imagine that they are eminently reasonable. One of his hearers eagerly takes in Antony's suggestion that Cæsar could not be ambitious, as he had thrice refused a kingly crown. "Mark'd ye his words!" says the third citizen. "He would not take the crown; therefore 'tis *certain* he was not ambitious." The crowd no doubt found

as much convincing force in the preceding syllogisms, depending on such extremely disputable assumptions, as that no men who fill the general coffers with the ransoms of their captives, or sympathise with the sorrows of the poor, can be ambitious. Many similar paralogisms are put into the mouths of Jack Cade and his followers in the Second Part of *Henry VI.* Shakespeare also expresses with unpitiful frankness the contempt for the external appearance and habits of the common people which has led to their being stigmatised as the great unwashed. He is never weary of putting into the mouths of his characters references to their greasy caps, stinking breath, and even their hands disfigured with honest toil. "The rabblement," says Casca, "shouted and clapped their chopt hands, and threw up their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath, because Cæsar refused the crown, that it had almost choked Cæsar; for he swounded, and fell down at it: and for mine own part, I durst not laugh, for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air." Very different is the reference to the workman's hand in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus:* "Two men I honour, and no third: First, the toilworn craftsman that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the Earth and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard Hand; crooked, coarse; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Sceptre of this Planet." The spirit of modern democracy has produced deeper sympathy with the lower classes, and a tendency to regard what is base and unlovely in their life and character and external aspect as their misfortune rather than their fault, and

therefore deserving of pity rather than contempt. Such sympathy can hardly be found in early English poetry, except in the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*. Few traces of it are discernible in the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, and the other great writers of the Elizabethan age, who looked to the court for patronage, and most of whom, like their courtly patrons, were fine gentlemen, and looked down upon the labouring classes as "base dung-hill villains and mechanical." In Shakespeare there is little of political sentiment in this contemptuous attitude towards the lower classes as a whole. Shakespeare was not very deeply interested in political questions, as is shown by the absence of political discussions in *Julius Cæsar*. Although this play is a record of a great struggle between the principles of monarchy and republicanism, arguments in favour of these two forms of government are not brought forward by either of the contending parties. Shakespeare's contempt for the masses is not political, but rather the caste feeling of social superiority, which may be even found coexisting with radical sentiments, as for instance in the case of Lord Byron.

In order to shorten the duration of the action of the play, Shakespeare has in *Julius Cæsar* brought together historical events that were really separated by considerable intervals of time. In the first scene of the play, when the crowd are preparing to celebrate Cæsar's triumph over the sons of Pompey, "it is the feast of Lupercal"; but Cæsar's triumph over Pompey's sons was celebrated in October, 45 B.C., and the feast of the Lupercalia, at which Cæsar refused the crown, did not take place until February 15 in the following year. Historically

there should be an interval of a month between the Lupercalia and the 15th of March, the date of the assassination. This interval also appears to be annihilated in Act I. Scene iii., which describes the terrible night that preceded the fatal day. In the first line of that scene, Cicero asks Casca whether he brought Cæsar home, which, taken in connection with what goes before, is naturally understood to mean "home from the Lupercalia." Further, in the preceding scene Casca had declared himself to be engaged for supper that night, and promised to sup on the morrow with Cassius, who, no doubt, intended to enlist him in the conspiracy during the supper. In the third scene, Cassius meets Casca and sounds him. There is no reference to their having met in the interval at supper or elsewhere, and the conversation makes it almost impossible that such a meeting could have taken place. Therefore it would appear that Casca, when he meets Cassius, is returning home from the supper at which he had promised to be present on the night of the Lupercalia. Shakespeare makes Antony deliver his funeral oration immediately after Cæsar's death (III. i. 291), although there was an interval of four or five days between his death and his funeral. Directly after his funeral oration, Antony is informed that "Octavius is already come to Rome" (III. ii. 262), but in history Octavius did not reach Rome until May, about two months after Cæsar's death and funeral. There was an interval of a year and a half between the arrival of Octavius in Rome and the proscriptions of the triumvirate recorded in Act IV. Scene i. During this interval great events happened, of which Shakespeare makes no mention. Antony refused

to give up to Octavius the money due to him as Cæsar's heir. Octavius therefore united with the Senate, whose counsels were at the time entirely determined by Cicero. At the great orator's instigation, Antony was declared a public enemy, and the two consuls, with Octavius, led an army to attack him. Antony was defeated in battle, and fled across the Alps, where he won over the army of Lepidus. At this time, Octavius, finding that Cicero was trying to make a tool of him with a view to restoring the ancient republic, deserted the Senate, and, uniting himself with Antony and Lepidus, formed the triumvirate. This struggle between Antony and Octavius, and the predominance of Cicero at Rome during their difference, is omitted by Shakespeare, so as to preserve the dramatic unity of the play. He prefers to represent Antony and Octavius as uniting together immediately after Cæsar's death to take vengeance on his murderers. In III. ii. 264, Antony arranges to meet Lepidus and Octavius at Cæsar's house, and their meeting is described in IV. i. We may regard IV. i. 7, which implies that the meeting did not take place at Cæsar's house, as a slight inconsistency due to an oversight. An interval of about a year must be supposed to separate the first and second scenes of Act IV. As Sardis is in the middle of Asia Minor, and Philippi is in the east of Macedonia, geography as well as history requires a considerable interval of time between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth act. Spectators, however, and even careless readers of the play, would probably not be conscious of any gap, as they would suppose the unwise movement of the republican army, referred to in V. i. 1–6, to be the advance

from Sardis to Philippi, which the experienced Cassius opposes in IV. iii. 197–201. The last historical interval of time annihilated by the poet is the twenty days separating the two battles at Philippi, which Shakespeare represents as taking place in the same day.

We do not find in *Julius Cæsar* the elaborate system of double time which Professor Wilson has demonstrated to exist in *Othello.* Here, as in the other historical plays, the spectators' knowledge of history, however hazy it may be, supplies easily the background of longer time, whenever it is required to give probability to the events recorded. The only clear instance of long and short time side by side is in II. i. 61, which must naturally be understood to mean that Brutus had passed several sleepless nights since Cassius urged him to join the plot, although the distinct marks of time (see I. iii. 153, 154, and compare I. ii. 320 and iii. 144, 145 with II. i. 36) show that Brutus made this remark on the morning after the day on which Cassius had first incited him to action. Discrepancy between long and short time appears also to be implied in III. ii. There are two passages indicating the lapse of several days between IV. iii. and V. i. In V. i. 84, the words "this morning" seem to imply several other mornings on which the eagles were present. The appearance of the ghost of Cæsar two several times by night, once at Sardis and "this last night here in Philippi fields," also requires several days for the march from Sardis to Philippi. But although, as we have seen, at first sight the comparison of V. i. 1–6 with IV. iii. 197–201 suggests immediate sequence, these passages are not necessarily inconsistent with the interval here required by both historical and geographical considerations.

Emerson remarks with reference to Shakespeare that "great men are more distinguished by range and extent than by originality," and that "the greatest genius is the most indebted man." That there is a considerable amount of truth in this paradox may be proved by the evidence afforded in the works not only of Shakespeare, but also of Homer, Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, Milton, and Tennyson. Some writers of the second class, who live in the fear of being accused of imitation, injure their work by abstaining too strictly from the use of suitable materials supplied by others. Shakespeare, elevated by his greatness far above any such fear, borrows freely the plots of his plays from Italian novelists, English chroniclers, and the biographies of Plutarch. He never alters an incident in the stories simply to show his inventive powers. If what he finds in his sources suits the purpose of his drama, he does not take the unnecessary trouble of altering it, and thus has more energy to devote in other directions to the perfecting of his compositions. In Plutarch he found a writer after his own heart, a biographer who, like himself, took the deepest interest in great characters, and made the persons whose lives he related reveal their strength and weakness by characteristic anecdotes. Therefore he found less to alter in his works than in those of other less artistic writers who supplied the materials of his dramas. He treated Plutarch almost with the same religious reverence as Milton shows to the Bible, often taking from his biographies not merely incidents but even the language in which North translated his stories into English. Many instances of such verbal borrowing will be found in the

following notes on the play. At the same time, when the purposes of his drama required him to do so, he sometimes amplified, sometimes curtailed the accounts of facts given by Plutarch, and sometimes rearranged his materials in new and more effective combinations. He also, though seldom, took a liberty with Plutarch, that Milton never ventures to take with his biblical materials. Milton, however much he may amplify and give a new colour to the facts of the Bible, never dares to introduce in his poems anything in direct disagreement with the biblical narrative. Shakespeare, when he thinks it convenient, does occasionally relate what is inconsistent with his original. For instance, Plutarch relates that Cæsar took the memorial from Artemidorus, but "could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him." Shakespeare prefers to represent Cæsar as deliberately refusing to read the memorial, so that he may put into his mouth the fine expression of kingly self-effacement that we have already quoted (III. i. 8). The free use that Shakespeare makes of the facts and words of Plutarch reveals his admiration for the great Greek biographer. The cases in which he refuses to follow Plutarch's guidance are still more interesting, as they give us an insight into the design which Shakespeare had in his mind in the composition of his Roman dramas. As Shakespeare never wantonly departed from his original, it is incumbent on the critic not only to point out all such deviations, but also to account for them, as far as possible, by reference to the principles of dramatic art by which Shakespeare was guided.

The principal modifications that history undergoes when dramatised by Shakespeare are due to the tendency to idealisation, which forms the great distinction between poetry and history. Bacon calls poetry feigned history, and well remarks that "the use of this feigned history hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in these points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being in proportion inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is agreeable to the spirit of man a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things. Therefore, because the acts or events of true history have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, poesy feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical: because true history propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice, therefore poesy feigns them more just in retribution and more according to revealed providence; because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary and less interchanged, therefore poesy endueth them with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variations; so as it appeareth that poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation. And therefore it was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things." Every point of contrast between history and poetry that Bacon insists upon in this fine passage might be strikingly illustrated by the changes that Shakespeare

makes history undergo before he can invest it in the garb of dramatic poetry.

The process of idealisation in the composition of Shakespeare's dramas produces less modification of the narratives of Plutarch than of ordinary histories, inasmuch as Plutarch himself idealises history in order to inculcate moral lessons and give impressive pictures of great men. However, Plutarch cannot invent purely fictitious events, and is more strictly bound down to the facts of history than the poet who dramatises his biographies. Plutarch idealises to some extent, but Shakespeare idealises more. We see this in the superiority of Shakespeare's Cassius as compared with the Cassius of Plutarch. Plutarch represents Cassius as prompted to hatred of Cæsar, because the latter had taken away from him some lions that he had provided for the sports to be celebrated during his ædileship, and had made him only an ordinary prætor, while giving Brutus the more honourable city prætorship, on which account he also quarrelled with Brutus. Shakespeare also makes Cassius hate Cæsar, and the estrangement between him and Brutus referred to in I. ii. 31–35 is no doubt suggested by the story of their rivalry for the city prætorship, but Shakespeare ennobles the character of Cassius by making no mention of the trivial causes that roused his spleen. Again, Cassius in Shakespeare is so full of earnestness that he "seldom smiles" (I. ii. 202), and evidently regards a "common laugher" as the most contemptible of mankind (I. ii. 71); in Plutarch we find, to our surprise, that he was a common laugher, "too familiar with his friends, and would jest too broadly with them." The process of idealisation is still

more clearly illustrated by the treatment of the character of Brutus, who is both by the biographer and the dramatist held up to our admiration as a model of virtue. Plutarch does not choose to tell us of Brutus's harsh dealings with his Salaminian debtors, and of the usurious interest he wanted Cicero to extort from them by force. He does not relate how Brutus without reason divorced his first wife Claudia, in order that he might marry Portia. He does, however, record his hero's promise to allow his soldiers to sack Lacedæmon and Thessalonica, which Shakespeare omits. Shakespeare also omits, as derogatory to Brutus's dignity, the disease that attacked him at Dyrrachium in the form of a "cormorant and unsatiable appetite to eat." From the same tender regard for the dignity of Brutus, he abstains from mentioning the doubt as to his descent from L. Junius Brutus, and the scandalous gossip that he was a bastard son of Cæsar's, although both these possibilities are discussed by Plutarch. Plutarch more than once praises the remarkable gentleness of Brutus's disposition. Shakespeare brings this characteristic into greater prominence by inventing the incident of Lucius falling asleep over his instrument. Plutarch relates that the conspirators, after killing Cæsar, took refuge in the Capitol, until they were assured that they could leave it with safety. Shakespeare omits this, as such careful regard for his safety might seem to be unworthy of Brutus, especially at the moment of his triumph. Therefore Brutus in Shakespeare goes straight to the market-place. It is true that, later on, Shakespeare relates the hurried flight of Brutus and Cassius from Rome. But this is after Mark Antony's speech, the

effect of which has to be manifested by the contrast between the former confidence of the conspirators and their subsequent headlong flight. For the same reason Shakespeare is not content with simply relating, as Plutarch does, that they fled. In order that the contrast may be more emphasised, they are reported by the servant to have "rid like madmen through the gates of Rome." In this sudden turn of the wheel of fate in the direction of retribution, we have an example of Shakespeare's idealisation of justice, which we must next proceed to consider.

The idealisation of justice in Shakespeare's plays does not usually result in the carrying out of what is called poetic justice, the reward and punishment of the good and bad in exact proportion to their goodness and badness. In Shakespeare, as in real life, vice is always punished, but often the virtuous suffer and die without being restored to happiness. Shakespeare would be false to fact if he satisfied our mind by always representing the triumph of virtue. He does, however, idealise justice not only by making the punishment of the wicked according to their deserts more evident than it is in real life, but also by introducing a special relation of appropriateness between the crime and the punishment, as when in *Hamlet* we see the "enginer hoist with his own petar," and as in *Julius Cæsar* the spirit of their victim makes the conspirators turn the very swords, which they had used in the assassination, into their proper entrails (V. iii. 46, 95). Justice is also idealised by being regarded as a manifestation of Nemesis. A peculiar satisfaction is afforded to the mind by the connection

expressed in the proverb that pride comes before a fall. Therefore, as we have seen, Cæsar's overthrow in Shakespeare is partly explained as a satisfaction to the Nemesis he had provoked by his victory over Pompey, and there is no mention of the fact recorded by Plutarch that Cæsar had propitiated Nemesis by setting up again the statues of Pompey, which had been thrown down. The conspirators in their turn are represented as provoking Nemesis by the additional incident of their bathing their hands up to the elbows in Cæsar's blood, which Shakespeare adds to the incidents recorded in Plutarch's narrative of the murder.

It is not only in the idealisation of great characters and of justice that poetry corrects the facts of history so as to make them more agreeable to the spirit of man. The same principle is seen at work whenever the poet by his imagination and constructive art embellishes the plain facts of history. Among the most conspicuous examples of such amplification and embellishment are the speeches of Satan in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and the speech of Antony in *Julius Cæsar*. With regard to Antony's funeral harangue, Plutarch only says that "when he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to hear Cæsar spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his oration with lamentable words; and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine, to conclude his oration, he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors cruel and cursed murderers." On this very small foundation

of historical fact Shakespeare builds the lofty fabric of Antony's eloquence. An interesting example of amplification in detail is afforded by Shakespeare's treatment of the bloody garments of the dead. He brings the scene more vividly before us by substituting the particular for the general. Antony gives the rent garment a special significance by declaring it to be the one that Cæsar wore for the first time after winning his great victory over the Nervii. The scene is made still more definite by the picture given of the great conqueror sitting in his robe after the great struggle and enjoying the calm repose of a summer evening. The whole image presented to the imagination makes an effective contrast with the figure of the dead body lying marred with wounds, and it is utterly unimportant from a poetical point of view that Antony, not having been in the campaign, could not have remembered such an incident, and that the victory over the Nervii was not won in summer-time. One would think that the force of eloquence could no further go. But Shakespeare has a climax to crown the pathetic appeal conveyed in this reminiscence, and still further moves the feelings by making Antony suddenly tear the robe away and reveal the mangled body to the horrified spectators. In like manner, out of the few words in which Plutarch describes the dissatisfaction felt by the Romans at Cæsar's triumph over the sons of Pompey, is evolved the speech of Marullus in the first scene of the first act. This scene forms an admirable opening to the play, as by its reference to Pompey it not only fixes the time of the action by bringing it into connection with preceding events in Roman history, but

also reminds us of the instability of human greatness and popular favour.

Another interesting instance of dramatic amplification is afforded by the conclusion of the quarrel scene. In Plutarch there is a long account of the differences between Brutus and Cassius, but hardly anything is said of the reconciliation, which is rather implied than expressly stated to have taken place. In Shakespeare the quarrel is a prelude to the reconciliation that follows. That the friendship of Brutus and Cassius should be strengthened by the violence of their temporary difference, is psychologically true, for "amantium iræ amoris integratio est." The transition from suspicion and anger to love is also arranged in accordance with the principle of contrast that underlies all art. "Is not," asks Bacon, "the precept of a musician to fall from a discord or harsh accord upon a concord or sweet accord alike true in affection?" The harsh discord in the scene we are considering, when

> Each spake words of high disdain
> And insult to his heart's best brother,

gives a grander effect to the deep heartfelt concord that succeeds and will last to death.

Shakespeare's treatment of the quarrel also illustrates the skill with which he rearranges his materials in more effective combinations. In the account of Plutarch the quarrel extends over two days. We are not told what were the subjects of complaint on the first day, and it is not until the second day that Brutus offends Cassius by condemning and noting Lucius Pella. Shakespeare compresses the quarrel into a single day, and makes Cassius

begin the wrangling by blurting out his complaint about Lucius Pella the moment he and Brutus enter the tent. In Plutarch the death of Portia is mentioned at the very end of the life of Brutus. Shakespeare represents the tidings of her death as having reached Brutus just before the quarrel, so that it accounts for the unusual harshness he manifests, and also, when announced to Cassius after the reconciliation, adds powerfully to the revulsion of feeling by which he is affected. Another instance of rearrangement of materials will be found in the account of the Lupercal. According to Casca, Cæsar, after recovering from his swoon, said that "if he had done or said anything amiss, he desired their worships to think it was his infirmity." The apology and the suggestion of the swoon are taken from Plutarch's account of another incident—Cæsar's arrogant omission to rise when the Senate came to do him honour in the market-place, for which act of folly he excused himself by saying that "their wits are not perfect which have this disease of the falling evil, when standing on their feet they speak to the common people, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their body and a sudden dimness and giddiness." Again, it was, according to Plutarch, a garland of flowers turned backwards, the accidental fall of Cassius' image,[1] the appearance of a marvellous number of fowls of prey and of beehives, that shook Cassius' Epicurean disbelief in omens. This effect is attributed by Shakespeare to the disappearance of the eagles mentioned by Plutarch in a different context, and to their being replaced by ravens, crows, and kites. The other less impressive signs are left unrecorded.

[1] See p. lxxxiv, *post*.

We have already considered and exemplified Shakespeare's compression of the events related by Plutarch into a narrower compass of time. The artistic object of this compression is not far to seek. Shakespeare is not a slave to the principle of unity of time, which he violates conspicuously in the *Winter's Tale* by introducing an interval of sixteen years between the third and the fourth acts. Nevertheless, other things being equal, he prefers a short to a long duration for the action, so as to make the spectacle of his plays as close an imitation of real life as possible. A well-constructed drama makes us feel for the time as if the events represented were really taking place. The effect of a play upon the audience largely depends upon the success with which this illusion is kept up, and long intervals of time tend to destroy this illusion, because they remind the spectators that they are looking, not at real events, but at a scenic representation. Therefore Shakespeare, as a practical and skilful playwright, prefers to make the events represented in his dramas succeed each other in rapid succession. He has also in some cases other reasons for shortening the time of the action. For instance, in dramas like *Julius Cæsar*, which deal with retribution, the retribution is rendered more impressive if it is not long delayed.

The following extracts from North's *Plutarch* are the principal passages on which Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* is based :—

How Cæsar triumphed over the sons of Pompey.

He wan this battle [Munda] on the very feast-day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say that Pompey the Great

went out of Rome, about four years before, to begin this civil war. For his [Pompey's] sons, the younger scaped from the battle; but, within few days after, Didius brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Cæsar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same did as much offend the Romans, and more, than anything that ever he had done before: because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrown. And because he had plucked up his race by the roots, men did not think it meet for him to triumph so for the calamities of his country, rejoicing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to allege in his defence unto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers unto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won in all the civil wars: but did always for shame refuse the glory of it.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

How Antony offered Cæsar a diadem at the Lupercalia.

At that time the feast *Lupercalia* was celebrated, the which in old time men say was the feast of shepherds or herdmen, and is much like unto the feast of the Lycæans in Arcadia. But howsoever it is, that day there are divers noblemen's sons, young men (and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then), which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place. And many noblewomen and gentlewomen also go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster to be stricken with the ferula: persuading themselves that, being with child, they shall have good delivery; and so, being barren, that it will make them to conceive with child. Cæsar sat to behold that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chain of gold, apparelled in triumphant manner. Antonius, who was Consul at that time, was one of them that

ran this holy course. So when he came into the market-place, the people made a lane for him to run at liberty, and he came to Cæsar, and presented him a diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very great, done only by a few appointed for the purpose. But when Cæsar refused the diadem, then all the people together made an outcry of joy. Then Antonius offering it him again, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when Cæsar refused it again the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Cæsar having made this proof, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chair, and commanded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol. After that, there were set up images of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down, and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Cæsar as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them rejoicing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdom of one person unto the government of the Senate and people. Cæsar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti and Cumani, to wit, beasts and fools.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

The Romans by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and Cæsar, being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was thus. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chief officers for that year, who running naked up and down the city, anointed with the oil of olive, for pleasure do strike them they meet in their way with white leather thongs they have in their hands. Antonius, being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies and old customs of that solemnity, he ran to the tribune where Cæsar was set, and carried a laurel crown in his hand, having a royal band or diadem wreathed

about it, which in old time was the ancient mark and token of a king. When he was come to Cæsar, he made his fellow-runners with him lift him up, and so he did put his laurel crown upon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But Cæsar, making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head: Cæsar again refused it; and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as Cæsar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things subjects should do by commandment of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. Cæsar, in a rage, arose out of his seat, and, plucking down the collar of his gown from his neck, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This laurel crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of Cæsar's statues or images, the which one of the tribunes plucked off. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Cæsar did turn them out of their offices for it. [*Life of Antony.*]

How Cæsar mistrusted lean men.

It is reported that Cæsar answered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for some matter of conspiracy: "Tush," said he, "they be not those fat fellows and fine combed men that I fear, but I mistrust rather these pale and lean men," meaning by Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death and slew him.—[*Life of Antony.*]

Cæsar also had Cassius in great jealousy, and suspected him much: whereupon he said on a time to his friends, "what will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks." Another time when Cæsar's friends complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he

answered them again, "As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads," quoth he, "I never reckon of them; but these pale-visaged and carrion-lean people, I fear them most," meaning Brutus and Cassius.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

How Cassius and others stirred up Brutus against Cæsar.

Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus only their prince and governor above all other, they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Prætor's seat, where he gave audience, and the most of them to this effect: "Thou sleepest, Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed." Cassius, finding Brutus' ambition stirred up the more by these seditious bills, did prick him forward and egg him on the more, for a private quarrel he had conceived against Cæsar: the circumstance whereof we have set down more at large in Brutus' life.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

But for Brutus, his friends and countrymen, both by divers procurements and sundry rumours of the city, and by many bills also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For under the image of his ancestor Junius Brutus (that drave the kings out of Rome), they wrote: "O, that it pleased the gods thou wert now alive, Brutus!" and again, "that thou wert here among us now!" His tribunal or chair, where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of such bills: "Brutus, thou art asleep, and art not Brutus indeed."—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Cæsar's death was predicted by a soothsayer and preceded by signs and wonders.

Certainly destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided, considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Cæsar's death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running up and down in the night, and also

the solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place, are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo the philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the soldiers that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had been burnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cæsar self also doing sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart. Furthermore there was a certain soothsayer that had given Cæsar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Cæsar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, "the Ides of March be come": "so they be," softly answered the soothsayer, "but yet are they not past." And the very day before, Cæsar, supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certain letters, as he was wont to do, at the board: so, talk falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best, he, preventing their opinions, cried out aloud, "death unlooked for." Then going to bed the same night, as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doors of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light: but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches: for she dreamed that Cæsar was slain, and that she had him in her arms. Others also do deny that she had any such dream, as, amongst other, Titus Livius writeth that it was in this sort: the Senate having set upon the top of Cæsar's house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that, Cæsar rising in the morning, she prayed him, if it were possible, not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session of the Senate until another day. And if that he made

no reckoning of her dream, yet that he would search further of the soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Cæsar likewise did fear or suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear and superstition: and that then he saw her so troubled in mind with this dream she had. But much more afterwards, when the soothsayers having sacrificed many beasts one after another, told him that none did like them: then he determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Senate.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

How the great name of Brutus induced men to join the conspiracy.

Furthermore, the only name and great calling of Brutus did bring on the most of them to give consent to this conspiracy: who having never taken oaths together, nor taken or given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves one to another by any religious oaths, they all kept the matter so secret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding the gods did reveal it by manifest signs and tokens from above, and by predictions of sacrifices, yet all this would not be believed.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Brutus was troubled in mind.

Now Brutus, who knew very well that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest, and most courageous men of Rome did venture their lives, weighing with himself the greatness of the danger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and fashion his countenance and looks that no man could discern he had anything to trouble his mind. But when night came that he was in his own house, then he was clean changed: for either care did wake him against his will when he would have slept, or else oftentimes of himself he fell into such deep thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his mind all the dangers that might happen:

that his wife, lying by him, found that there was some marvellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himself.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Antony's life was spared.

All the conspirators, but Brutus, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with soldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them: and especially having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authority at that time, being Consul with Cæsar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest: secondly, because he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust but that Antonius, being a noble-minded and courageous man (when he should know that Cæsar was dead), would willingly help his country to recover her liberty, having them an example unto him to follow their courage and virtue.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Cicero was not asked to join the conspiracy.

For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracy, although he was a man whom they loved dearly, and trusted best: for they were afraid that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his fear, he would quite turn and alter all their purpose, and quench the heat of their enterprise (the which specially required hot and earnest execution), seeking by persuasion to bring all things to such safety, as there should be no peril.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Ligarius rose from his sick bed.

Now amongst Pompey's friends, there was one called Caius Ligarius, who had been accused unto Cæsar for taking part with

Pompey, and Cæsar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Cæsar so much for his discharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannical power; and therefore in his heart he was always his mortal enemy, and was besides very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being sick in his bed, and said unto him: "Ligarius, in what a time art thou sick?" Ligarius rising up in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, said unto him: "Brutus," said he, "if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thyself, I am whole." —[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Porcia claimed the right to share her husband's counsels.

This young lady, being excellently well seen in philosophy, loving her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wise: because she would not ask her husband what he ailed before she had made some proof by her self: she took a little razor, such as barbers occupy to pare men's nails, and, causing her maids and women to go out of her chamber, gave herself a great gash withal in her thigh, that she was straight all of a gore blood: and incontinently after a vehement fever took her, by reason of the pain of her wound. Then perceiving her husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest, even in her greatest pain of all she spake in this sort unto him: "I being, O Brutus," said she, "the daughter of Cato, was married unto thee; not to be thy bed-fellow and companion in bed and at board only, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with thee of thy good and evil fortune. Now for thyself, I can find no cause of fault in thee touching our match: but for my part, how may I shew my duty towards thee and how much I would do for thy sake, if I cannot constantly bear a secret mischance or grief with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity? I confess that a woman's wit commonly is too weak to keep a secret safely: but yet, Brutus, good education and the company of virtuous men have some power to reform the defect

of nature. And for myself, I have this benefit moreover, that I am the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before, until that now I have found by experience that no pain or grief whatsoever can overcome me." With those words she shewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to prove herself. Brutus was amazed to hear what she said unto him, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good pass, that he might be found a husband worthy of so noble a wife as Porcia: so he then did comfort her the best he could.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Decius Brutus persuaded Cæsar to go to the Senate.

But in the meantime came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Cæsar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heir, and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius and Brutus: he, fearing that if Cæsar did adjourn the session that day, the conspiracy would be betrayed, laughed at the soothsayers, and reproved Cæsar, saying, "that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him they should depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what would his enemies and ill-willers say, and how could they like of his friends' words? And who could persuade them otherwise, but that they would think his dominion a slavery unto them and tyrannical in himself? And yet if it be so," said he, "that you utterly mislike of this day, it is better that you go yourself in person, and, saluting the

Senate, to dismiss them till another time." Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand, and brought him out of his house.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

How Porcia's anxiety made her swoon.

Now in the meantime, there came one of Brutus' men post-haste unto him, and told him his wife was a-dying. For Porcia, being very careful and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weak to away with so great and inward grief of mind, she could hardly keep within, but was frighted with every little noise and cry she heard, as those that are taken and possessed with the fury of the Bacchantes; asking every man that came from the market-place what Brutus did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to know what news. At length Cæsar's coming being prolonged (as you have heard), Porcia's weakness was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she suddenly swounded, that she had no leisure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soon came to herself again, and so was laid in her bed, and attended by her women. When Brutus heard these news, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not off the care of his country and commonwealth, neither went home to his house for any news he heard.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Artemidorus presented a memorial to Cæsar.

And one Artemidorus also, born in the isle of Gnidos, a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against Cæsar, came and brought him a little bill, written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He, marking how Cæsar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them straight to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: "Cæsar, read this memorial to yourself,

and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly." Cæsar took it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himself, went on withal into the Senate-house.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

How Popilius Læna alarmed the conspirators.

Another Senator, called Popilius Læna, after he had saluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly than he was wont to do, he rounded softly in their ears, and told them: "I pray the gods you may go through with that you have taken in hand; but withal, despatch, I reade you, for your enterprise is bewrayed." When he had said, he presently departed from them, and left them both afraid that their conspiracy would out. . . .

When Cæsar came out of his litter, Popilius Læna (that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the gods they might bring this enterprise to pass) went unto Cæsar, and kept him a long time with a talk. Cæsar gave good ear unto him: wherefore the conspirators (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to Cæsar, but conjecturing by that he had told them a little before that his talk was none other but the very discovery of their conspiracy, they were afraid every man of them; and, one looking in another's face, it was easy to see that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands. And when Cassius and certain other clapped their hands on their swords under their gowns to draw them, Brutus, marking the countenance and gesture of Læna, and considering that he did use himself rather like an humble and earnest suitor than like an accuser, he said nothing to his companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracy), but with a pleasant countenance encouraged Cassius. And immediately after Læna went from Cæsar, and kissed his hand; which shewed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himself that he had held him so long in talk.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Cæsar was killed.

So Cæsar coming into the house, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. Then part of Brutus' company and confederates stood round about Cæsar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their suit, they followed Cæsar till he was set in his chair. Who denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied the more they pressed upon him and were the earnester with him, Metellus at length, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him. Then Casca, behind him, strake him in the neck with his sword; howbeit the wound was not great nor mortal, because it seemed the fear of such a devilish attempt did amaze him and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Cæsar, turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword and held it hard; and they both cried out, Cæsar in Latin: "O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou?" and Casca, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help me." At the beginning of this stir, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had no power to fly, neither to help him, nor so much as once to make an outcry. They on the other side that had conspired his death, compassed him in on every side with their swords drawn in their hands, that Cæsar turned him no where but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hackled and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them that every man should give him a wound, because all their parts should be in this murther: and then Brutus himself gave him one wound about his privities. Men report also, that Cæsar did still defend himself against the rest, running every way with his body: but when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gown over his head, and made no more resistance, and was driven either casually or purposedly, by the

counsel of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ran all of a gore-blood till he was slain. Thus it seemed that the image took just revenge of Pompey's enemy, being thrown down on the ground at his feet, and yielding up the ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported, that he had three-and-twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

Now all the Senators being entered first into this place or chapter-house where the council should be kept, all the other conspirators straight stood about Cæsar's chair, as if they had had something to say unto him. And some say that Cassius, casting his eyes upon Pompey's image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had been alive. Trebonius on the other side drew Antonius aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sat, and held him with a long talk without. When Cæsar was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his coming in. So when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one Tullius Cimber, who made humble suit for the calling home again of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessors for him, and took Cæsar by the hands, and kissed his head and breast. Cæsar at the first simply refused their kindness and entreaties; but afterwards, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Cæsar's gown over his shoulders, and Casca, that stood behind him, drew his dagger first and strake Cæsar upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. Cæsar, feeling himself hurt, took him straight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: "O traitor Casca, what dost thou?" Casca on the other side cried in Greek, and called his brother to help him. So divers running on a heap together to fly upon Cæsar, he, looking about him to have fled, saw Brutus with a sword drawn in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let Casca's hand go, and casting his gown over his face, suffered every man to strike at

him that would. Then the conspirators thronging one upon another, because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murthering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloodied. —[*Life of Brutus.*]

How the Senators fled in confusion, and the conspirators went first to the Capitol and then to the market-place, where Brutus addressed the people.

When Cæsar was slain, the Senate (though Brutus stood in the middest amongst them, as though he would have said something touching this fact) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with marvellous fear and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut to the doors, others forsook their shops and warehouses, and others ran to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had seen it ran home to their houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Cæsar's chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, fled into other men's houses and forsook their own. Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troop together out of the Senate and went into the market-place, not as men that made countenance to fly, but otherwise boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speak with every great personage whom they met in their way. . . .

The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market-place to speak unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reproved nor allowed the fact: for by their great silence they showed that they were sorry for Cæsar's death, and also that they did reverence Brutus.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

Cæsar being slain in this manner, Brutus, standing in the middest of the house, would have spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracy, to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they, as men both afraid and amazed, fled one upon another's neck in haste to get out at the door, and no man followed them. . . .

But Brutus and his consorts, having their swords bloody in their hands, went straight to the Capitol, persuading the Romans as they went to take their liberty again. Now at the first time, when the murther was newly done, there were sudden outcries of people that ran up and down the city, the which indeed did the more increase the fear and tumult. But when they saw they slew no man, neither did spoil or make havoc of anything, then certain of the Senators and many of the people, emboldening themselves, went to the Capitol unto them.

There, a great number of men being assembled together one after another, Brutus made an oration unto them, to win the favour of the people, and to justify that they had done. All those that were by said they had done well, and cried unto them that they should boldly come down from the Capitol: whereupon Brutus and his companions came boldly down into the market-place. The rest followed in troupe, but Brutus went foremost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the city, which brought him from the Capitol, through the market-place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels of all sorts, and had a good will to make some stir; yet, being ashamed to do it, for the reverence they bare unto Brutus, they keep silence to hear what he would say. When Brutus began to speak, they gave him quiet audience: howbeit, immediately after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another, called Cinna, would have spoken, and began to accuse Cæsar, they fell into a great uproar among them, and marvellously reviled him; insomuch that the conspirators returned again into the Capitol.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Antony delivered his funeral oration and roused the people to fury.

Then Antonius, thinking good his testament should be read openly, and also that his body should be honourably buried, and not in hugger-mugger, lest the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise: Cassius stoutly spake against it. But Brutus went with the motion, and agreed unto it; wherein it seemeth he committed a second fault. For the first fault he did, was when he would not consent to his fellow-conspirators, that Antonius should be slain; and therefore he was justly accused, that thereby he had saved and strengthened a strong and grievous enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed that Cæsar's funerals should be as Antonius would have them, the which indeed marred all. For first of all, when Cæsar's testament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome 75 drachmas a man; and that he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on this side of the river Tiber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loved him, and were marvellous sorry for him. Afterwards, when Cæsar's body was brought into the market-place, Antonius making his funeral oration in praise of the dead, according to the ancient custom of Rome, and perceiving that his words moved the common people to compassion, he framed his eloquence to make their hearts yearn the more; and, taking Cæsar's gown all bloody in his hand, he laid it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithal the people fell presently into such a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cried out, "Kill the murtherers": others plucked up forms, tables, and stalls about the market-place, as they had done before at the funerals of Clodius, and, having laid them all on a heap together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of Cæsar, and burnt it in the mids of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the

fire was throughly kindled, some here, some there, took burning firebrands, and ran with them to the murtherers' houses that killed him, to set them on fire. Howbeit the conspirators, foreseeing the danger before, had wisely provided for themselves and fled.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

And therefore, when Cæsar's body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in commendation of Cæsar, according to the ancient custom of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to hear Cæsar spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his oration with lamentable words; and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine, to conclude his oration, he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors cruel and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently took Cæsar's body, and burnt it in the market-place, with such tables and forms as they could get together. Then, when the fire was kindled, they took firebrands, and ran to the murtherers' houses to set them on fire, and to make them come out to fight. Brutus therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons, were driven to fly the city.—[*Life of Antony.*]

How Cinna the poet was killed.

There was one of Cæsar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that Cæsar bad him to supper, and that he refused and would not go: then that Cæsar took him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna, hearing at that time that they burnt Cæsar's body in the market-place, notwithstanding that he feared his dream, and had an ague on him besides, he went into the market-place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the mean sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto another, so that it ran straight through them

all, that he was one of them that murthered Cæsar (for indeed one of the traitors to Cæsar was also called Cinna as himself): wherefore taking him for Cinna the murtherer, they fell upon him with such fury that they presently despatched him in the market-place.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

But there was a poet called Cinna, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was always one of Cæsar's chiefest friends: he dreamed, the night before, that Cæsar bad him to supper with him, and that, he refusing to go, Cæsar was very importunate with him, and compelled him; so that at length he led him by the hand into a great dark place, where, being marvellously afraid, he was driven to follow him in spite of his heart. This dream put him all night into a fever; and yet notwithstanding, the next morning, when he heard that they carried Cæsar's body to burial, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals, he went out of his house, and thrust himself into the prease of the common people that were in a great uproar. And because some one called him by his name Cinna, the people, thinking he had been that Cinna who in an oration he made had spoken very evil of Cæsar, they, falling upon him in their rage, slew him outright in the market-place.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How the Triumvirs met in conference.

Therefore he sent certain of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends again: and thereupon all three met together (to wit, Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus) in an iland environed round about with a little river, and there remained three days together. Now as touching all other matters they were easily agreed, and did divide all the empire of Rome between them, as if it had been their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of blood and holiness of friendship at their feet. For Cæsar left Cicero to Antonius' will; Antonius also forsook Lucius Cæsar, who was his uncle by his

mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirm, that Cæsar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepidus was contented with it.—[*Life of Antony.*]

How Brutus asked Cassius for supplies of money.

Now whilst Brutus and Cassius were together in the city of Smyrna, Brutus prayed Cassius to let him have some part of his money whereof he had great store; because all that he could rap and rend of his side, he had bestowed it in making so great a number of ships, that by means of them they should keep all the sea at their commandment. Cassius' friends hindered this request and earnestly dissuaded him from it, persuading him, that it was no reason that Brutus should have the money which Cassius had gotten together by sparing and levied with great evil will of the people their subjects, for him to bestow liberally upon his soldiers, and by this means to win their good wills, by Cassius' charge.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Brutus and Cassius quarrelled.

Now as it commonly happened in great affairs between two persons, both of them having many friends and so many captains under them, there ran tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a little chamber together, and bade every man avoid, and did shut the doors to them. Then they began to pour out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a-weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber, hearing them loud within, and angry between themselves, they were both amazed and afraid also, lest it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commanded that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding, one Marcus Phaonius, that had been a friend and a follower of Cato while he lived, and took upon him to counterfeit a philo-

sopher, not with wisdom and discretion, but with a certain bedlem and frantic motion: he would needs come into the chamber, though the men offered to keep him out. But it was no boot to let Phaonius, when a mad mood or toy took him in the head: for he was a hot hasty man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for never a senator of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of speech after the profession of the Cynic philosophers (as who would say *Dogs*), yet his boldness did not hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This Phaonius at that time, in despite of the door-keepers, came into the chamber, and with a certain scoffing and mocking gesture, which he counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor said in Homer:

> My lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
> For I have seen mo years than suchie three.

Cassius fell a-laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeit Cynic. Howbeit his coming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. . . .

The next day after, Brutus, upon complaint of the Sardians, did condemn and note Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had been a Prætor of the Romans, and whom Brutus had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robbery and pilfery in his office. This judgment much misliked Cassius, because he himself had secretly (not many days before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproved Brutus, for that he would shew himself so straight and severe, in such a time as was meeter to bear a little than to take things at the worst. Brutus in contrary manner answered, that he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they slew Julius Cæsar, who neither pilled nor polled the country, but only was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoil, by his countenance and authority. —[*Life of Brutus.*]

How a ghost appeared twice to Brutus.

But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus shewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murther of Cæsar. The vision was thus: Brutus being ready to pass over his army from the city of Abydos to the other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent; and being yet awake, thinking of his affairs (for by report he was as careful a captain and lived with as little sleep as ever man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent-door, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness and dreadful look, which at the first made him marvellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bed-side and said nothing; at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him: "I am thy ill angel, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes." Then Brutus replied again, and said, "Well, I shall see thee then." Therewithal the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time, Brutus, being in battle near unto the city of Philippes against Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, at the first battle he wan the victory, and, overthrowing all them that withstood him, he drave them into young Cæsar's camp, which he took. The second battle being at hand, this spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutus, knowing that he should die, did put himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighting could not be slain. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little rock not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast, fell upon it and slew himself; but yet, as it is reported, with the help of his friend that despatched him.—[*Life of Cæsar.*]

Brutus was a careful man, and slept very little, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day-time, and in the night no longer than the time he was driven to be alone, and when everybody else took their rest. But now whilst he was in war, and his head ever busily occupied to think of his affairs and what would happen, after he had slumbered a little after supper,

he spent all the rest of the night in despatching of his weightiest causes; and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would read some book till the third watch of the night, at what time the captains, petty captains, and colonels, did use to come to him. So, being ready to go into Europe, one night very late (when all the camp took quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard one come in to him, and, casting his eye towards the door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never a word. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither? The spirit answered him, "I am thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes." Brutus being no otherwise afraid, replied again unto it: "Well, then I shall see thee again." The spirit presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all. Thereupon Brutus returned again to think on his matters as he did before.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How the result of the battle of Philippi was foretold by signs and wonders.

When they raised their camp, there came two eagles that, flying with a marvellous force, lighted upon two of the foremost ensigns, and always followed the soldiers, which gave them meat and fed them, until they came near to the city of Philippes: and there, one day only before the battle, they both flew away. . . .

. . . it is reported that there chanced certain unlucky signs unto Cassius. For one of his sergeants that carried the rods before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backward, the which he should have worn on his head in the time of sacrificing. Moreover it is reported also, that another time before, in certain sports and triumph where they carried an image of Cassius' victory, of clean gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that carried it. And yet further, there was seen a marvellous number

of fowls of prey, that feed upon dead carcases: and bee-hives also were found, where bees were gathered together in a certain place within the trenches of the camp: the which place the soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the camp, for to take away the superstitious fear and mistrust men would have of it. The which began somewhat to alter Cassius' mind from Epicurus' opinions, and had put the soldiers also in a marvellous fear.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Cassius wished to postpone the battle.

Thereupon Cassius was of opinion not to try this war at one battle, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armour. But Brutus, in contrary manner, did alway before, and at that time also, desire nothing more than to put all to the hazard of battle, as soon as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his country to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such great armies together. But perceiving that, in the daily skirmishes and bickerings they made, his men were always the stronger and ever had the better, that yet quickened his spirits again, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yielded themselves to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreover divers others would do the like, that made many of Cassius' friends which were of his mind before (when it came to be debated in council, whether the battle should be fought or not) that they were then of Brutus' mind.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Cassius spoke with Messala and Brutus on the eve of the battle.

But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by himself in his tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper-

time he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he took him by the hand, and holding him fast (in token of kindness, as his manner was) told him in Greek: "Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as Pompey the Great was) to jeopard the liberty of our country to the hazard of a battle. And yet we must be lively, and of good courage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although we follow evil counsel." Messala writeth, that Cassius having spoken these last words unto him, he bade him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it was his birthday. The next morning, by break of day, the signal of battle was set out in Brutus' and Cassius' camp, which was an arming scarlet coat: and both the chieftains spake together in the midst of their armies. There Cassius began to speak first, and said: "The gods grant us, O Brutus, that this day we may win the field, and ever after to live all the rest of our life quietly one with another. But sith the gods have so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most uncertain, and that if the battle fall out otherwise to-day than we wish or look for, we shall hardly meet again, what art thou then determined to do, to fly, or die?" Brutus answered him, being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world: "I trust (I know not how) a certain rule of philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Cato for killing himself, as being no lawful nor godly act, touching the gods: nor concerning men, valiant; not to give place and yield to divine providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to draw back and fly: but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God that this battle fall out fortunate for us, I will look no more for hope, neither seek to make any new supply for war again, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For I gave up my life for my country in the Ides of March, for the which I shall live in another more glorious world." Cassius

fell a-laughing to hear what he said, and embracing him, "Come on then," said he, "let us go and charge our enemies with this mind. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to fear the conquerors."—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Brutus was victorious on the right wing and Cassius was defeated on the left wing.

In the meantime Brutus, that led the right wing, sent little bills to the colonels and captains of private bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battle; and he himself, riding a-horseback by all the troupes, did speak to them, and encouraged them to stick to it like men. So by this means very few of them understood what was the word of the battle, and besides, the most part of them never tarried to have it told them, but ran with great fury to assail the enemies; whereby, through this disorder, the legions were marvellously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all Messala's legion, and then the next unto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glancing by them overthrew some as they went; and so going on further, fell right upon Cæsar's camp, . . .

There was great slaughter in this camp. For amongst others, there were slain two thousand Lacedæmonians, who were arrived but even a little before, coming to aid Cæsar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given a charge full upon Cæsar's battle, they easily made them fly, because they were greatly troubled for the loss of their camp; and of them there were slain by hand three legions. Then, being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand over head into their camp, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion shewed it unto them that were overcome; and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked and unguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too far off, in following of them that were overthrown. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But, notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not

break into the midst of their battle, where they found them that received them and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and overthrew the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their camp, the which they spoiled, none of both the chieftains being present there. . . .

Furthermore, the voward and the middest of Brutus' battle had already put all their enemies to flight that withstood them, with great slaughter: so that Brutus had conquered all on his side, and Cassius had lost all on the other side. For nothing undid them but that Brutus went not to help Cassius, thinking he had overcome them as himself had done; and Cassius on the other side tarried not for Brutus, thinking he had been overthrown as himself was.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Cassius was driven back and slain.

Furthermore perceiving his footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keep them from flying, and took an ensign from one of the ensign-bearers that fled, and stuck it fast at his feet: although with much ado he could scant keep his own guard together.

So Cassius himself was at length compelled to fly, with a few about him, unto a little hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plain: howbeit Cassius himself saw nothing, for his sight was very bad, saving that he saw (and yet with much ado) how the enemies spoiled his camp before his eyes. He saw also a great troupe of horsemen, whom Brutus sent to aid him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he sent Titinnius, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. Brutus' horsemen saw him coming afar off, whom when they knew that he was one of Cassius' chiefest friends, they shouted out for joy; and they that were familiarly acquainted with him lighted from their horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about on horseback with songs of victory and great

rushing of their harness, so that they made all the field ring again for joy. But this marred all. For Cassius, thinking indeed that Titinnius was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: "Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken, for my sake, before my face." After that, he got into a tent where nobody was, and took Pindarus with him, one of his bondsmen whom he reserved ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battle of the Parthians, where Crassus was slain, though he notwithstanding scaped from that overthrow: but then, casting his cloak over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body: but after that time Pindarus was never seen more. Whereupon some took occasion to say that he had slain his master without his commandment. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see Titinnius crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed unto Cassius. But when he perceived, by the cries and tears of his friends which tormented themselves, the misfortune that had chanced to his captain Cassius by mistaking, he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had tarried so long, and so slew himself presently in the field. Brutus in the meantime came forward still, and understood also that Cassius had been overthrown: but he knew nothing of his death till he came very near to his camp. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romans, being unpossible that Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he, he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thassos, fearing lest his funerals within his camp should cause great disorder.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Marcus Cato was slain.

There was the son of Marcus Cato slain, valiantly fighting among the lusty youths. For notwithstanding that he was very weary and over-harried, yet would he not therefore fly; but

manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his father's name, at length he was beaten down amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slain round about him.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Lucilius tried to save Brutus.

Amongst them there was one of Brutus' friends called Lucilius, who, seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life; and being left behind, told them that he was Brutus: and because they should believe him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he said he was afraid of Cæsar, and that he did trust Antonius better. These barbarous men, being very glad of this good hap, and thinking themselves happy men, they carried him in the night, and sent some before unto Antonius, to tell him of their coming. He was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meet them that brought him. Others also understanding of it, that they had brought Brutus prisoner, they came out of all parts of the camp to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying that it was not done like himself, so cowardly to be taken alive of the barbarous people for fear of death. When they came near together, Antonius stayed a while bethinking himself how he should use Brutus. In the meantime Lucilius was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said: "Antonius, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken nor shall take Marcus Brutus alive, and I beseech God keep him from that fortune: for wheresoever he be found, alive or dead, he will be found like himself. And now for myself, I am come unto thee, having deceived these men of arms here, bearing them down that I was Brutus, and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to." Lucilius' words made them all amazed that heard him. Antonius on the other side, looking upon all them that had brought him, said unto them: "My companions, I think ye are sorry you have failed of your purpose, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong: but I assure

you, you have taken a better booty than that you followed. For instead of an enemy you have brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For I had rather have such men my friends, as this man here, than mine enemies." Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that time delivered him to one of his friends in custody; and Lucilius ever after served him faithfully, even to his death.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Brutus met his death and was buried with honour.

Now Brutus having passed a little river, walled in on every side with high rocks and shadowed with great trees, being then dark night, he went no further, but stayed at the foot of a rock with certain of his captains and friends that followed him. . . .

Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slain in battle: and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go through his enemies, for otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp: and from thence, if all were well, that he would lift up a torch-light in the air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarry long after that, and that he came not again, he said: "If Statilius be alive, he will come again." But his evil fortune was such that, as he came back, he lighted in his enemies' hands and was slain. Now the night being far spent, Brutus as he sat bowed towards Clitus, one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear: the other answered him not, but fell a-weeping. Thereupon he proved Dardanus, and said somewhat also to him: at length he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greek, prayed him for the studies' sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would help him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarrying for

them there, but that they must needs fly. Then Brutus, rising up, "We must fly indeed," said he, "but it must be with our hands, not with our feet." Then taking every man by the hand, he said these words unto them with a cheerful countenance: "It rejoiceth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complain of my fortune, but only for my country's sake: for as for me, I think myself happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetual fame of virtue and honesty, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attain unto by force or money; neither can let their posterity to say that they, being naughty and unjust men, have slain good men, to usurp tyrannical power not pertaining to them." Having so said, he prayed every man to shift for himself, and then he went a little aside with two or three only, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of rhetoric. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ran himself through. Others say that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it, and so ran himself through, and died presently.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

Furthermore he [Antony] cast his coat-armour (which was wonderful rich and sumptuous) upon Brutus' body, and gave commandment to one of his slaves enfranchised, to defray the charge of his burial.—[*Life of Antony.*]

How Antony expressed his high opinion of Brutus.

For it was said that Antonius spake it openly divers times, that he thought, that of all them that had slain Cæsar, there was none but Brutus only that was moved to do it, as thinking the act commendable of itself: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice or envy, that they otherwise did bear unto him.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

How Porcia killed herself.

And for Porcia, Brutus' wife, Nicolaus the Philosopher and Valerius Maximus do write, that she, determining to kill herself (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it), took hot burning coals and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close that she choked herself. There was a letter of Brutus found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that, his wife being sick, they would not help her, but suffered her to kill herself; choosing to die, rather than to languish in pain. Thus it appeareth that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus' letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this lady, and also the manner of her death.—[*Life of Brutus.*]

THE TRAGEDY

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

JULIUS CÆSAR.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR,
MARCUS ANTONIUS,
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, } *Triumvirs after the death of Julius Cæsar*

CICERO,
PUBLIUS,
POPILIUS LENA, } *Senators.*

MARCUS BRUTUS,
CASSIUS,
CASCA,
TREBONIUS,
LIGARIUS,
DECIUS BRUTUS,
METELLUS CIMBER,
CINNA, } *Conspirators against Julius Cæsar.*

FLAVIUS *and* MARULLUS, *Tribunes.*

ARTEMIDORUS, *a Sophist of Cnidos.*

A Soothsayer.

CINNA, *a Poet. Another Poet.*

LUCILIUS, TITINIUS, MESSALA, *Young* CATO, *and* VOLUMNIUS, *Friends to Brutus and Cassius.*

VARRO, CLITUS, CLAUDIUS, STRATO, LUCIUS, DARDANIUS, *Servants to Brutus.*

PINDARUS, *Servant to Cassius.*

CALPURNIA, *Wife to Cæsar.*

PORTIA, *Wife to Brutus.*

Senators, Citizens, Guards, Attendants, etc.

SCENE: *During a great part of the Play, at Rome; afterwards at Sardis and near Philippi*

THE TRAGEDY

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR

ACT I

SCENE I.—*Rome. A Street.*

Enter FLAVIUS, MARULLUS, *and certain Commoners.*

Flav. Hence! home, you idle creatures, get you home:
Is this a holiday? What! know you not,
Being mechanical, you ought not walk
Upon a labouring day without the sign

Act I. Scene I.] In the Folios each act is headed "Actus Primus, Secundus," etc., "Sceæna Prima." The scenes are not distinguished from one another, nor are the places specified in which the scene is laid.

Marullus] is spelt Murellus or Murrellus, and several other proper names are wrongly spelt in the Folios. In such cases we may leave the wrong spelling unaltered, when it is in accordance with North's *Plutarch.* As Marullus is spelt correctly by North, the wrong spelling of the word may be attributed to the copyist or the printer rather than to Shakespeare. Therefore the correct spelling is restored in the text.

1. *Hence! home*] go hence, go home. The ellipse of the verb of motion with adverbs and adverbial phrases is very common. Compare Marmion's last words, "Charge, Chester, charge! On, Stanley, on!" and line 74.

3. *ought not walk*] For the omission of "to" before infinitives, where we now insert it, and *vice versâ*, see Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, sec. 351.

4. *a labouring day*] a working day as opposed to a holiday. "Labouring" would usually be explained here

Of your profession? Speak, what trade art thou? 5

First Com. Why, sir, a carpenter.

Mar. Where is thy leather apron, and thy rule?
What dost thou with thy best apparel on?
You, sir, what trade are you?

Second Com. Truly, sir, in respect of a fine workman, 10
I am but, as you would say, a cobbler.

Mar. But what trade art thou? Answer me directly.

Second Com. A trade, sir, that I hope I may use with a safe conscience; which is, indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles. 15

15. *soles*] *soules* F 1, 2; *souls* F 3; *soals* F 4.

as a verbal noun used adjectivally. Craik compares "walking stick" and "riding coat." It may, however, be regarded as an instance of hypallage, and compared with "idle hours," "idle bed," II. i. 117, "thirsty evil," *Measure for Measure*, I. ii. 134, "a married life," "hungry prey," *1 Henry VI.* I. ii. 28, "lovers' absent hours," *Othello*, III. iv. 174, and *morientes voces* in Cicero.

4. *without the sign*] There does not appear to have been any law to this effect in Elizabethan England or ancient Rome. There were, however, sumptuary laws in England up to the reign of James I., requiring men to dress in accordance with their rank, and perhaps custom supplemented this by requiring that artisans should on working days show, by clear external signs, what trade they belonged to.

5. *what trade*] of what trade. Compare ii. 301.

7. *rule*] a piece of wood used by carpenters to keep their lines straight. Compare "mechanic slaves With greasy aprons, rules and hammers," *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 209.

10. *in respect of*] as compared with. "Respecting" is used in the same sense in *Winter's Tale*, V. i. 35: "There is none worthy, Respecting her that's gone."

12. *what trade art thou?*] The second citizen has already declared his trade by saying that he is a cobbler or mender of shoes. Marullus, however, from the context naturally takes the word "cobbler" in its other sense, as meaning a clumsy workman.

12. *thou*] in Shakespeare's time was used in addressing near relations or intimate friends, and, as here, in addressing inferiors. When an equal, who is not an intimate friend, is addressed in the singular number, insult is intended. Compare the use of "thou" as a verb in *Twelfth Night*, III. ii. 48. The citizens never venture to use the singular pronoun in addressing Marullus or Flavius. On the other hand, "you" is often used in speaking to inferiors to express anger, as in line 9, where both the "sir" and the "you" show that the speaker is adopting sarcastically the attitude of mock respect. See Abbott, sec. 233.

12. *directly*] plainly, in a straightforward manner.

15. *soles*] The reference to conscience is intended to make Marullus

Mar. What trade, thou knave? thou naughty knave, what trade?

Second Com. Nay, I beseech you, sir, be not out with me: yet, if you be out, sir, I can mend you.

Mar. What meanest thou by that? Mend me, thou saucy fellow! 20

Second Com. Why, sir, cobble you.

Flav. Thou art a cobbler, art thou?

Second Com. Truly, sir, all that I live by is with the awl: I meddle with no tradesman's matters, nor woman's matters: but withal I am, indeed, sir, a surgeon to old shoes; when they are in great 25

16. Mar.] Fla. Ff. 26. *woman's*] *womens* F 1; *womans* F 2, 3, 4; *withal I*] F 1; *withall I* F 2, 3; *withal, I* F 4.

think that the citizen is speaking of souls. Shakespeare makes the same play upon words in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 15, and in the *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 123:

"Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,
Thou makest thy knife clean,"

where some difference of pronunciation is required to make the meaning intelligible to the audience.

16. *What trade, etc.*] The Folios assign this question to Flavius, and the next question to Marullus. But the word "me" in line 20 shows that the two questions must be assigned to the same speaker, whether that speaker be Flavius or Marullus.

16. *naughty*] wicked or worthless. In Shakespeare's time the term was applied to inanimate objects and grown-up men, and not, as now, confined to children. Compare *Lear*, III. vii. 37, *Merchant of Venice*, V. i. 91, Prov. vi. 12, and Jer. xxiv. 2, "very naughty figs."

18, 19. *out with*] angry with. Immediately afterwards the cobbler uses "out" in the sense of "worn out," "torn," which sense still survives in the expression, "out at the elbows." Compare the pun in *Measure for Measure*, II. i. 59.

26. *woman's*] for "tradeswoman's," the prefix "trades" being carried on from "tradesman's" to "woman's," as in *Othello*, I. i. 30, where "be-lee'd and calm'd" = "be-lee'd and be-calm'd," and *Lear*, III. iv. 135, "The wall-newt and the water," *i.e.* "water-newt."

26. *withal*] (= with all, *i.e.* in addition to all) is here an adverb meaning "moreover," and introduces additional information. The sound also suggests "with awl." Most of the later editors follow Steevens, who reads "with awl," and puts a full stop after "awl" and a comma before "but." In this case the secondary meaning suggested by the play upon words is "with all," *i.e.* "with everything," so that in one sense the sound of the words expresses an apparent contradiction, namely, that he meddles with everything, but with no kind of trade.

danger, I recover them. As proper men as
ever trod upon neat's-leather have gone upon
my handiwork. 30

Flav. But wherefore art not in thy shop to-day?
Why dost thou lead these men about the streets?

Second Com. Truly, sir, to wear out their shoes, to
get myself into more work. But, indeed, sir,
we make holiday to see Cæsar and to rejoice 35
in his triumph.

Mar. Wherefore rejoice? What conquest brings he
home?
What tributaries follow him to Rome
To grace in captive bonds his chariot wheels?
You blocks, you stones, you worse than senseless
things! 40
O you hard hearts, you cruel men of Rome,
Knew you not Pompey? Many a time and
oft
Have you climb'd up to walls and battlements,
To towers and windows, yea, to chimney-tops,

42. *Pompey?*] *Pompey* Ff; *oft*] *oft?* Ff. 44. *windows,*] *windowes?* Ff.

28. *recover*] keeps up the metaphor, as it means to "restore to health," as well as to "mend by covering the rents with patches," although there is a slight difference between the pronunciation of the verb in these two senses.

28. *proper*] fine, good-looking, handsome.

29. *trod upon neat's-leather*] walked in shoes. Compare *Tempest*, II. ii. 73, "He's a present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's leather."

31. *art*] The ellipse of the pronominal subject is most common in the second person singular, because the number and person are sufficiently indicated by the suffix. The suffix "t" is etymologically equivalent to "thou."

34. *indeed*] introduces the direct (see line 12), plain, serious answer.

38. *What tributaries*] This is a rhetorical question expecting a negative answer.

39. *captive bonds*] Compare "sterile curse," ii. 9.

40. *stones*] See note on III. ii. 150.

41. *hard hearts*] For the metonymy compare "slow bellies," Epistle to Titus i. 12.

Your infants in your arms, and there have sat 45
The livelong day, with patient expectation,
To see great Pompey pass the streets of Rome:
And when you saw his chariot but appear,
Have you not made an universal shout,
That Tiber trembled underneath her banks, 50
To hear the replication of your sounds
Made in her concave shores?
And do you now put on your best attire?
And do you now cull out a holiday?
And do you now strew flowers in his way, 55
That comes in triumph over Pompey's blood?
Be gone!
Run to your houses, fall upon your knees,
Pray to the gods to intermit the plague
That needs must light on this ingratitude. 60

Flav. Go, go, good countrymen, and for this fault
Assemble all the poor men of your sort;

48. *but appear*] only appear, before it actually came near and passed them. Abbott, sec. 139, takes "but" with "chariot," in which case the meaning would be "only his chariot," Pompey himself being too distant to be distinctly visible. His interpretation of the passage is supported by III. ii. 202.

50. *her banks*] It is strange to find the river, whom the Romans adored as Father Tiber, personified in the feminine gender here and in line 52. Although all rivers are masculine in Latin, even Milton in *Comus* personifies the Severn as a female goddess under the name of Sabrina.

56. *That*] has for antecedent the possessive "his" in the preceding line. This construction is still common in poetry, *e.g. Marmion*, Int. i. 71:

"Say to your sons—Lo, here his grave
Who victor died on Gadite wave."

56. *blood*] offspring. Compare *1 Henry VI.* IV. v. 16:

"The world will say he is not Talbot's blood,
That basely fled when noble Talbot stood."

Cæsar's last triumph here referred to celebrated his victory over the sons of Pompey in Spain. Plutarch says that this triumph "did as much offend the Romans, and more, than anything that he had ever done before; because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrown."

Draw them to Tiber banks, and weep your tears
Into the channel, till the lowest stream
Do kiss the most exalted shores of all. 65

[*Exeunt all the Commoners.*

See whether their basest mettle be not mov'd;
They vanish tongue-tied in their guiltiness.
Go you down that way towards the Capitol;
This way will I. Disrobe the images
If you do find them deck'd with ceremonies. 70

Mar. May we do so?
You know it is the feast of Lupercal.

Flav. It is no matter; let no images

66. *whether*] *where* Ff; *mettle*] Ff, *metal* Johnson and later editors.

63. *Tiber banks*] the banks of Tiber. "Tiber" is used adjectivally. Compare v. i. 34 and Abbott, sec. 22.

65. *the most exalted shores*] the highest banks. The passage is hyperbolical. "Lowest" or "highest" is redundant, as the lowness of the stream implies the height of the banks, and *vice versâ*.

66. *whether*] is spelt "where" in the Folios, which indicates that it must be pronounced as a monosyllable. Abbott compares the contraction of "other" into "or."

66. *basest mettle*] their disposition base though it be. "Metal" and "mettle" are etymologically the same word, although the latter spelling is now preferred to express "courage." The two spellings appear to have been used indiscriminately in Shakespeare's time. Here "basest" indicates that the speaker is consciously using metaphorical language.

69. *Disrobe the images*] "There were set up images of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down" (*Plutarch*).

70. *ceremonies*] symbols of honour and majesty, namely, the diadems mentioned in the above quotation from *Plutarch*, which are called trophies in line 74, and scarfs in ii. 289. For this concrete use of "ceremony," compare *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 59:

"No ceremony that to great ones 'longs,
Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
Become them with one half so good a grace
As mercy does."

72. *the feast of Lupercal*] the Lupercalia, a festival celebrated at Rome on 15th February in honour of Lupercus, the god who defended sheep against wolves. Shakespeare probably anglicises the name of the feast in this short form for metrical convenience. In Latin *lupercal* meant a cavern on the Palatine hill sacred to Lupercus.

Be hung with Cæsar's trophies. I'll about
And drive away the vulgar from the streets: 75
So do you too where you perceive them thick.
These growing feathers pluck'd from Cæsar's wing
Will make him fly an ordinary pitch,
Who else would soar above the view of men
And keep us all in servile fearfulness. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*The Same. A public Place.*

Enter, in procession, with music, CÆSAR; ANTONY, *for the course;* CALPURNIA, PORTIA, DECIUS, CICERO, BRUTUS, CASSIUS, *and* CASCA; *a great crowd following, among them a Soothsayer.*

Cæs. Calpurnia!

Casca. Peace, ho! Cæsar speaks.

[*Music ceases.*

Cæs. Calpurnia!

1, 7, 183. *Calpurnia*] *Calphurnia* Ff.

74. *Cæsar's trophies*] ornaments in honour of Cæsar. A trophy now means a sign of victory generally consisting of spoil taken from the conquered, but in Shakespeare it means any honourable decoration, such as the diadems on Cæsar's images. In *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 173, Ophelia's "coronet weeds" are identical with "her weedy trophies" in line 175.

74. *I'll about*] I'll go about. Compare line 1.

75. *the vulgar*] Compare the use of "the general" in II. i. 12 and in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 465: "caviare to the general."

77. *These growing feathers plucked*] the plucking of these growing feathers. This is a good instance of the Latin participial construction, in which an abstract idea is expressed by a concrete noun and a participle. Compare *P. L.* x. 332 and *Othello*, II. iii. 350: "All seals and symbols of redeemed sin," *i.e.* of the redemption of sin.

78. *pitch*] being a term of falconry, keeps up the metaphor. Compare *Richard II.* I. i. 109: "How high a pitch his resolution soars."

Scene II.

1. *Calpurnia*] The name is generally but not always spelt correctly without the "h" in North's *Plutarch.*

1. *Peace, ho*] Here Casca shows himself to be one of Cæsar's most servile flatterers, unless he is speaking ironically.

Cal. Here, my lord.

Cæs. Stand you directly in Antonius' way
When he doth run his course. Antonius!

Ant. Cæsar, my lord.

Cæs. Forget not, in your speed, Antonius, 5
To touch Calpurnia; for our elders say,
The barren, touched in this holy chase,
Shake off their sterile curse.

Ant. I shall remember:
When Cæsar says "Do this," it is perform'd. 10

Cæs. Set on; and leave no ceremony out. [*Music.*

Sooth. Cæsar!

Cæs. Ha! Who calls?

Casca. Bid every noise be still; peace yet again!
[*Music ceases.*

3. *Antonius'*] *Antonio's* Ff. 4, 6. *Antonius*] *Antonio* Ff.

3. *Antonius*] In the Folios throughout the play we find "Antonio" instead of "Antonius." As this form of the name is not found in North, and as "Anthonius" occurs twice in *Antony and Cleopatra*, we may suppose that "Antonio" is due to the copyist and not to Shakespeare. We cannot, however, be certain. The fact that in *Antony and Cleopatra* the name of the hero is only thrice given its full Latin form, indicates that Shakespeare did not think that form very suitable for English verse. He may possibly have chosen to use by preference the modern Italian form, which would be very familiar to English men of letters of the time, many of whom knew Italian well, and had read the Life of "Marco Antonio" in Italian translations of *Plutarch*.

4. *run his course*] run the race through the city that took place at the feast called the Lupercalia. See the extract from North's *Plutarch* on p. lxiii.

7. *touch*] with one of the leather thongs mentioned in Plutarch's account of the feast.

9. *Shake off their sterile curse*] For "sterile curse" compare "captive bonds," i. 39, "insane root that takes the reason prisoner," *Macbeth*, I. iii. 84, "oblivious pool," *P. L.* i. 266.

10. *Do this*] Compare Luke vii. 8. This is a hyperbolical way of saying that Cæsar's orders are immediately and inevitably carried out. Similarly when Othello asks Iago to kill Cassio within three days, Iago replies, "My friend is dead; 'tis done at your request."

11. *Set on*] start, begin. This intransitive use of the verb survives in "set out."

Cæs. Who is it in the press that calls on me? 15
I hear a tongue, shriller than all the music,
Cry "Cæsar!" Speak; Cæsar is turn'd to hear.
Sooth. Beware the ides of March.
Cæs. What man is that?
Bru. A soothsayer bids you beware the ides of March.
Cæs. Set him before me; let me see his face. 20
Cas. Fellow, come from the throng; look upon Cæsar.
Cæs. What say'st thou to me now? Speak once again.
Sooth. Beware the ides of March.
Cæs. He is a dreamer; let us leave him: pass.
[*Sennet. Exeunt all but Brutus and Cassius.*
Cas. Will you go see the order of the course? 25
Bru. Not I.
Cas. I pray you, do.
Bru. I am not gamesome: I do lack some part
Of that quick spirit that is in Antony.

15. *press*] crowd, as in Mark ii. 4, v. 30; Luke xix. 3. In Tennyson's *Princess* we find "made at me through the press."

17. *Cæsar*] He shows his pride by speaking of himself in the third person. Compare II. ii. 10, 12, 28, 29, 44, 45, 48, 65, 68; III. i. 32, 40, 47. Othello reveals his pride by the same characteristic trait.

17. *turn'd*] The word is especially appropriate in a person deaf of one ear. See line 210.

18. *ides of March*] March 15th. In *Plutarch* the soothsayer had made this prophecy "long afore."

19. *soothsayer*] The prevalence of the ancient belief in prophecy is indicated by the fact that "soothsayer" by derivation means a teller of the truth.

24. *pass*] (first person plural) pass we, let us pass.

24. Sennet] flourish of trumpets.

24. Brutus] Marcus Junius Brutus, not Decimus Junius Brutus, whom Shakespeare calls Decius or Decius Brutus. According to *Plutarch*, Cassius was angry with Cæsar and Brutus because Cæsar had given Brutus the city prætorship, which was a more honourable and powerful office than the ordinary prætorship conferred on Cassius. There is, however, no mention of this ground of quarrel in Shakespeare.

25. *go see*] See note on IV. i. 45.

28. *quick spirit*] liveliness. There is a great contrast between the earnest, serious character of Brutus and Antony's love of pleasure, which was superficially the chief element in his nature. On this account Brutus wrongly despised Antony as a man of no power. See II. i. 185–189.

Let me not hinder, Cassius, your desires;
I 'll leave you. 30

Cas. Brutus, I do observe you now of late:
I have not from your eyes that gentleness
And show of love as I was wont to have:
You bear too stubborn and too strange a hand
Over your friend that loves you.

Bru. Cassius, 35
Be not deceiv'd: if I have veil'd my look,
I turn the trouble of my countenance
Merely upon myself. Vexed I am
Of late with passions of some difference,

35. *friend . . . loves*] F 1; *friends . . . loves* F 2, 3; *friends . . . love* F 4.

33. *as*] The relatival use of "as," except after "such" and "the same," is now a vulgarism, but was not so regarded in Shakespeare's time. Compare line 172 and Abbott, secs. 112 and 280. Conversely in III. i. 41 we have "that" where we should now be compelled to use "as."

34. *You bear, etc.*] Cassius compares himself to a horse and Brutus to a rider or driver. Compare *Lear*, III. i. 27:

"Or the hard rein which both of them have borne
Against the old kind king."

"Stubborn" expresses a heavy as opposed to a light hand in riding or driving. Compare "stubborn bits," *Henry VIII.* V. iii. 23. The epithet "strange," expressing Brutus' coldness and reserve, does not keep up the metaphor. For the combination of metaphorical and ordinary words compare IV. iii. 220.

36. *veil'd my look*] practised reserve, not allowed my countenance to reveal my thoughts. Brutus had not "worn his heart upon his sleeve" (*Othello*, I. i. 64), and consequently had appeared to his friends to be cold and distant. He turned the trouble of his countenance upon himself, that is to say, he did not communicate to his friends the secret troubles that were indicated by his sad face. They saw that his countenance was not frank and open as before, but were not able to "construe the charactery of his sad brows" (II. i. 308), so that the jealous Cassius, not knowing the true cause of his gloominess, attributed it to unfriendliness and estrangement.

38. *Merely*] entirely. The use of "merely" here is scarcely distinguishable from its present use, and shows how the word from meaning "entirely," "absolutely," came to mean "only."

39. *passions of some difference*] contending feelings. Brutus was at war with himself (line 45), because his love for Cæsar was opposed to his love for Rome and freedom. Compare the words put into his mouth in the Earl of Sterline's *Julius Cæsar:*

"I owe him much, but to my country more.
This in my breast hath great dissension bred.
I Cæsar love, but yet Rome's enemy hate."

Conceptions only proper to myself, 40
Which give some soil perhaps to my behaviours;
But let not therefore my good friends be griev'd,
Among which number, Cassius, be you one,
Nor construe any further my neglect,
Than that poor Brutus, with himself at war, 45
Forgets the shows of love to other men.

Cas. Then, Brutus, I have much mistook your passion;
By means whereof this breast of mine hath buried
Thoughts of great value, worthy cogitations.
Tell me, good Brutus, can you see your face? 50

Bru. No, Cassius; for the eye sees not itself,
But by reflection by some other things.

Cas. 'Tis just:
And it is very much lamented, Brutus,
That you have no such mirrors as will turn 55
Your hidden worthiness into your eye,
That you might see your shadow. I have heard,

51. *itself*] F 1; *himself* F 2, 3, 4. 52. *reflection*] *reflection*, Ff; *by some*] *from some* Pope, Dyce; *things*] Ff, *thing* Dyce.

40. *only proper to myself*] that concern myself only. As his thoughts only concerned himself, he did not feel bound to reveal them to his friends.

41. *behaviours*] often used in the plural by Shakespeare.

46. *shows of love*] outward manifestations of affection.

47. *passion*] state of mind.

48. *By means whereof*] on account of which misunderstanding. Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 104, 105.

51. *sees not itself*] Steevens quotes from Sir John Davies' poem on the *Immortality of the Soul*, 1599:

"Is it because the mind is like the eye,
Through which it gathers knowledge by degrees;
Whose rays reflect not, but spread outwardly;
Not seeing itself, when other things it sees?"

and from Marston's *Comedy of the Fawn*, 1606: "The eye sees all things but its proper self."

52. *by reflection by some other things*] by being reflected by other things, namely, mirrors. If we retain the comma after "reflection," then "by some other things" is an adverbial phrase modifying "sees itself," as "by reflection" does.

57. *shadow*] reflection, as in *King John*, II. i. 498, and in the passage quoted from Maplet on II. i. 205.

Where many of the best respect in Rome,
Except immortal Cæsar, speaking of Brutus,
And groaning underneath this age's yoke, 60
Have wish'd that noble Brutus had his eyes.

Bru. Into what dangers would you lead me, Cassius,
That you would have me seek into myself
For that which is not in me?

Cas. Therefore, good Brutus, be prepar'd to hear; 65
And since you know you cannot see yourself
So well as by reflection, I, your glass,
Will modestly discover to yourself
That of yourself which you yet know not of.
And be not jealous on me, gentle Brutus: 70
Were I a common laugher, or did use

71. *laugher*] Rowe, Pope; *laughter* Ff.

58. *of the best respect*] who are looked up to with the greatest reverence. Compare v. v. 45.

59. *Except*] This ironical exception is intended to excite envy or indignation in the mind of Brutus, such as Cassius himself felt at the thought that one man was so much exalted above all other Romans that no one could be compared with him in honour.

61. *had his eyes*] was not blind, realised the situation and his duty to the republic. Compare II. i. 46.

65. *Therefore*] Craik thinks that "the eager impatient temper of Cassius, absorbed in his own one idea, is vividly expressed by his thus continuing his argument as if without appearing to have even heard Brutus' interrupting question; for such is the only interpretation which his *therefore* would seem to admit of." If "therefore" refers to what Cassius has said before, it refers especially to lines 54–57. As Brutus could not see himself, he must hear of his worthiness from Cassius. The reference being obscured by the intervening lines, the reason why Brutus must hear of his worthiness is repeated in line 65. It seems simpler, however, to make "therefore" refer to what immediately precedes. Brutus has asked a question and therefore must be prepared to hear the reply.

68. *modestly*] moderately, without exaggeration. Compare "o'erstep not the modesty of nature," *Hamlet*, III. ii. 21.

70. *on*] This use of "on" after "angry" and "jealous" still survives in provincial English. "Jealous"= "suspicious." In Lowland Scotch the verb "jealouse" means "suspect."

71. *laugher*] If we retain the original reading, "laughter" must mean "subject of laughter," "laughing-stock," as in IV. iii. 113. There is considerable plausibility in the suggestion made in Kinnear's *Cruces*

To stale with ordinary oaths my love
To every new protester; if you know
That I do fawn on men and hug them hard,
And after scandal them; or if you know 75
That I profess myself in banqueting
To all the rout, then hold me dangerous.

[*Flourish and shout.*

Bru. What means this shouting? I do fear the people
Choose Cæsar for their king.

Cas. Ay, do you fear it?
Then must I think you would not have it so. 80

Bru. I would not, Cassius; yet I love him well.
But wherefore do you hold me here so long?
What is it that you would impart to me?
If it be aught toward the general good,
Set honour in one eye and death i' the other, 85

Shakespearianæ that "talker" is the true reading. "Talker" occurs in three other passages, in all of which it is used as a term of blame, while "laugher" is found nowhere else in Shakespeare's plays. Also a talker (a "fleering tell-tale," iii. 117) would be more dangerous in a conspiracy than a laugher. On the other hand, "He seldom smiles" (line 202), gives some support to the reading "laugher."

72. *stale*] here, as in IV. i. 38, is a verb meaning "make common or worthless." The adjective "stale" is connected with "stall," a standing place, and expresses the fact that meat or drink kept long standing in one place loses its savour. "Stale" meaning "a decoy" is a different word connected with "steal."

73. *every new protester*] every successive person that solemnly declares his love for me. Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, III. ii. 182. where lovers' rhymes are described as "Full of protest, of oath and big compare."

74. Brutus was not like Casca. See line 1.

75. *after scandal*] afterwards defame.

76. *profess myself*] make profession of friendship. Compare *Othello*, I. iii. 342, "I have professed me thy friend."

77. *then*] in that case, if these conditions are fulfilled. Cassius means that, as these conditions are not fulfilled, he is not to be considered dangerous.

85. *Set honour, etc.*] Honour requires him to promote the public good, and the fear of death will not

And I will look on both indifferently;
For let the gods so speed me as I love
The name of honour more than I fear death.

Cas. I know that virtue to be in you, Brutus,
As well as I do know your outward favour. 90
Well, honour is the subject of my story.
I cannot tell what you and other men
Think of this life; but for my single self,
I had as lief not be as live to be
In awe of such a thing as I myself. 95
I was born free as Cæsar; so were you:
We both have fed as well, and we can both
Endure the winter's cold as well as he:
For once, upon a raw and gusty day,
The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores, 100
Cæsar said to me, "Dar'st thou, Cassius, now
Leap in with me into this angry flood,
And swim to yonder point?" Upon the word,

86. *both*] Ff, *death* Theobald. 101. *said*] *saide* F 1; *saies* F 2, 3; *says* F 4.

deter him from following honour. He can contemplate indifferently (*i.e.* composedly, with equanimity) "an enterprise Of honourable-dangerous consequence" (iii. 124), because his love of honour is stronger than his fear of death.

86. *both*] honour and death together, a course of action prescribed by honour and leading to death.

90. *outward favour*] looks. Compare "ill-favoured," "well-favoured" and the provincial use of "favour" for "resemble in appearance."

95. *such a thing as I myself*] namely, Cæsar, who was only a man as Cassius himself was. "Thing" has a contemptuous sense when applied to persons.

99. *once*] This incident is not to be found in Plutarch or Suetonius; but both these writers relate how Cæsar saved his life and his *Commentaries* by swimming in the harbour of Alexandria, from which it is clear that he was a good swimmer.

100. *chafing*] Compare *pontem indignatus Araxes*, *Æneid*, viii. 728.

100. *her*] See note on i. 50.

Accoutred as I was, I plunged in
And bade him follow; so indeed he did. 105
The torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews, throwing it aside
And stemming it with hearts of controversy;
But ere we could arrive the point propos'd,
Cæsar cried "Help me, Cassius, or I sink." 110
I, as Æneas, our great ancestor,
Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder
The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tiber
Did I the tired Cæsar. And this man
Is now become a god, and Cassius is 115
A wretched creature and must bend his body
If Cæsar carelessly but nod on him.
He had a fever when he was in Spain,
And when the fit was on him, I did mark
How he did shake; 'tis true, this god did shake; 120
His coward lips did from their colour fly,

104. *Accoutred*] F 1; *Accounted* F 2, 3, 4.

104. In like manner Horatius in Macaulay's lay:

"... with his harness on his back
Plunged headlong in the tide."

108. *hearts of controversy*] emulous, combative hearts. Compare "man of valour" (valiant man). They had to contend not only against each other, but also against the strong current.

109. *arrive*] used transitively as in *P. L.* ii. 409.

111. *as Æneas*] See *Æneid*, ii. 721. This comparison occurs also in *2 Henry VI.* v. ii. 63. Æneas was considered to be the ancestor of the Romans generally, on which account they were poetically called Æneadæ, descendants of Æneas. The Julian *Gens* especially claimed descent from Iulus or Julus, the son of Æneas.

121. *coward*] used adjectivally. Compare I. i. 63, and for the inversion compare

"... the eyes fly from their lights,"
Lucrece, 461.

"To wring the widow from her customed right."
2 Henry VI. v. i. 188.

"This Gloster should be quickly rid the world."
2 Henry VI. III. i. 233.

"You to your former honour I bequeath."
As You Like It, v. iv. 192;

and other instances collected in the Appendix to Schmidt's *Lexicon*. Many such inversions will be found pointed out in Conington's *Virgil*, *e.g.* *Æneid*, vi. 229. Compare also *Electra*, 119, *Medea*, 35. No doubt, in this

And that same eye whose bend doth awe the world
Did lose his lustre; I did hear him groan;
Ay, and that tongue of his that bade the Romans
Mark him and write his speeches in their books, 125
"Alas!" it cried "Give me some drink, Titinius,"
As a sick girl. Ye gods, it doth amaze me
A man of such a feeble temper should
So get the start of the majestic world,
And bear the palm alone. [*Shout. Flourish*

Bru. Another general shout! 130
I do believe that these applauses are
For some new honours that are heap'd on Cæsar.

Cas. Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus; and we petty men

instance, as suggested by Steevens, the inversion is prompted by the desire to play on the word "colour," which in the plural means a flag. This enables Shakespeare by a conceit to compare the eyes to cowardly soldiers deserting their colours. The same play upon words is found in *Lucrece*, 476-481, and in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond:*

"And nought-respecting death, the last of pains,
Placed his pale colours, th' ensign of his might,
Upon his new-got spoil before his right."

122. *bend*] look, glance, as in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 213: "made their bends adornings." "Bent" is used in this sense in *Henry V.* v. ii. 16 and *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v. 282. In *Hamlet*, v. i. 238, dead Cæsar is called "earth which kept the world in awe."

123. *his*] the neuter possessive. See Abbott, 228. "Its" is rare in Shakespeare, occurs thrice in Milton's poetry, and never in the Authorised Version of the Bible.

124. *that tongue of his*] This doubly marked genitive appears to be due to the confusion of two constructions, "that his tongue" and "that tongue of him."

125. *books*] writing tablets.

126. *Alas*] had best be put in inverted commas as Cæsar's exclamasion of distress and weakness. If it is not reported speech, then it expresses Cassius' ironical affectation of sorrowful surprise at Cæsar's weakness.

129. *get the start of*] outstrip in the competition for power, honour, and glory.

133. *Why, man*] Here Cassius in his excitement adopts a tone of familiar expostulation.

133. *narrow*] is proleptic. Cæsar makes the world seem narrow by bestriding it.

134. *a Colossus*] Shakespeare is thinking of the famous Colossus at Rhodes, which was popularly supposed to bestride the entrance of the harbour so that ships could sail under its huge legs.

Walk under his huge legs, and peep about 135
To find ourselves dishonourable graves.
Men at some time are masters of their fates:
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.
Brutus and Cæsar: what should be in that
"Cæsar"? 140
Why should that name be sounded more than
yours?
Write them together, yours is as fair a name;
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well;
Weigh them, it is as heavy; conjure with 'em,
"Brutus" will start a spirit as soon as "Cæsar." 145
Now, in the names of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed,
That he is grown so great? Age, thou art sham'd!

137. *masters of their fates*] Compare IV. iii. 217, and the song of Fortune in *Enid:* "For man is man and master of his fate."

138. *The fault, etc.*] Compare Edmund's reflections in *Lear*, I. ii.: "This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune (often the surfeit of our own behaviour) we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars"; and *Odyssey*, i. 32–34. The use of "ill-starred" and "disastrous" in the sense of "unfortunate" gives evidence of the prevalence of this tendency.

139. *underlings*] in a position of inferiority "Underling" is formed by adding the diminutive termination "ling" to "under."

140. *what should be*] This is the interrogative use of the inferential "should," which we find in such sentences as *Othello*, IV. i. 148: "By heaven, that should be (= would seem to be) my handkerchief!" which might be the reply to "What should this be?" Compare *Henry VIII.* III. ii. 160: "What should this mean?" = "What may this be supposed to mean?" This use of "should" in questions expresses perplexity. In the following line "should" = "ought to."

141. *sounded*] celebrated by the voice of fame, as in the *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 193: "Thy virtues spoke of and thy beauty sounded."

145. *start*] raise from the lower world. Compare II. i. 323. The invocation of certain names, *e.g.* Demogorgon, was supposed to be particularly powerful in conjuring spirits. Compare Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough*, v. 1: "I conjure thee by Amsterdam." [A puritan says this, because Amsterdam was the resort of fanatics.—R. H. C.]

Rome, thou hast lost the breed of noble bloods!
When went there by an age, since the great flood, 150
But it was fam'd with more than with one man?
When could they say, till now, that talk'd of Rome,
That her wide walks encompass'd but one man?
Now is it Rome indeed and room enough,

153. *walks*] Ff, *walls* Rowe.

149. *bloods*] men of spirit. Generally in the plural it means young men of spirit, as in *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. iii. 141: "All the hot bloods between fourteen and five-and-thirty."

150. *since the great flood*] This reference to "the great flood" as the beginning of the history of the world seems rather in accordance with Jewish or Christian than with Roman thought. Compare line 158. It may be justified as a reference to the flood described in classical mythology as having taken place in the time of Deucalion and distinctly referred to in *Coriolanus*, II. i. 102. This classic deluge was not, however, such an important and well-known mythological event that a Roman or Greek could refer to it simply as "the great flood." When Juvenal refers to it in *Satire*, i. 81, he clearly specifies what flood he means.

153. *walks*] the reading of the Folio has been plausibly altered into "walls" by later editors. It is certainly more natural to talk of walls than of walks encompassing a man or men. Although "wide" at first sight is not quite applicable to "walls," we find the word similarly employed to express extent of compass in *As You Like It*, II. vii. 161: "His youthful hose a world too wide for his shrunk shanks." Still "wide" is more naturally applied to "walks," as in *Titus Andronicus*, II. i. 114: "The forest walks are wide and spacious"; where, as in this passage and in III. ii. 254, "walks" means tracts of garden, park, or forest. The populous part of ancient Rome was almost entirely surrounded by a green girdle of gardens and pleasure grounds, as the cities of New Zealand now are and as modern Rome will presently be. It was proposed in Elizabeth's time that a permanent green girdle should be secured for London, and Shakespeare may have learnt that this desirable object had been achieved long ago in ancient Rome. We may therefore retain the reading of the Folio.

154. *Rome indeed*] "Rome" was pronounced like "room," which gives occasion to the play of words here, in III. i. 289, and in *King John*, III. i. 180: "I have room with Rome to curse a while." Wright compares the similar pun on the name "Pole" in *2 Henry VI.* IV. i. 70. On the other hand, it would appear from *1 Henry VI.* III. i. 51, where Warwick plays upon the similarity of sound between "Rome" and "roam," that even in Shakespeare's time "Rome" was sometimes pronounced as it is pronounced now. The old pronunciation survives in *Rūm*, the Oriental name of Constantinople, which was so called as being the capital of the Roman Empire. The tendency to pronounce "o" as "oo" is exemplified in many English words, *e.g.* "tomb," "whom," "do," "move." In some provincial dialects of English "come" is pronounced "coom." For Shakespeare's punning

When there is in it but one only man. 155
O! you and I have heard our fathers say,
There was a Brutus once that would have brook'd
The eternal devil to keep his state in Rome,
As easily as a king.

Bru. That you do love me, I am nothing jealous; 160
What you would work me to, I have some aim:
How I have thought of this and of these times,
I shall recount hereafter; for this present,
I would not, so with love I might entreat you,
Be any further mov'd. What you have said 165
I will consider; what you have to say
I will with patience hear, and find a time

158. *eternal*] Ff, *infernal* Johnson. 164. *not, so with . . . you,*] *not so* (*with . . . you*) Ff.

in serious passages see the first chapter of Trench's *Study of Words.*

155. *man*] For the rhetorical repetition of "man" at the conclusion of lines 153, 155, compare *King John*, II. i. 427, 429, 431.

157. *a Brutus once*] namely, the old Lucius Junius Brutus, who played the principal part in the expulsion of the kings from Rome.

158. *the eternal devil*] The epithet "eternal" rather expresses the extent of the devil's wickedness than his deathlessness. Compare "eternal villain" (*Othello*, IV. ii. 129) and the colloquial use of "tarnal" (short for "eternal") and "everlasting" in this sense in America. Perhaps Shakespeare originally wrote "infernal," and the word was altered into "eternal" by the editors of the first Folio, on account of the statute passed in 1605 against profane language in plays. "Eternal" appears to be still used in provincial English as a euphemism for "infernal," as "darn" in English and "morbleu" in French are used respectively for "damn" and "mort dieu." See Halliwell's *Archaic and Provincial Dictionary.* If we take "eternal" in the ordinary sense of the word, we may compare "auld Hangie," "auld Hornie," "auld Cloots," and "auld Nickie Ben" in Burns's *Address to the Deil.* For the anachronism by which a Roman speaks of the Jewish or Christian devil, compare line 150.

160. *That you do love me, etc.*] I do not at all doubt your affection for me. See line 70 for "jealous."

161. *work me to*] Compare line 314.

161. *aim*] conjecture, as in the Folio reading of *Othello*, I. iii. 6: "where the aim reports."

163. *for this present*] *sc.* time. Compare the English Prayer-Book, "that those things may please Him which we do at this present."

164. *so with love, etc.*] provided I might in a spirit of affection make this request of you.

165.] For Brutus's brief antithetical manner of speech, see note on III. ii. 13.

Both meet to hear and answer such high things.
Till then, my noble friend, chew upon this:
Brutus had rather be a villager 170
Than to repute himself a son of Rome
Under these hard conditions as this time
Is like to lay upon us.

Cas. I am glad
That my weak words have struck but thus much show
Of fire from Brutus. 175

Bru. The games are done and Cæsar is returning.

Cas. As they pass by, pluck Casca by the sleeve,
And he will, after his sour fashion, tell you
What hath proceeded worthy note to-day.

Re-enter CÆSAR *and his Train.*

Bru. I will do so. But, look you, Cassius, 180
The angry spot doth glow on Cæsar's brow,
And all the rest look like a chidden train:
Calpurnia's cheek is pale, and Cicero
Looks with such ferret and such fiery eyes

169. *chew*] ponder. Compare Pope's *Moral Essays*, i. 228: "Old politicians chew on wisdom past." In this metaphorical sense we employ "ruminate," as Shakespeare does except in this passage.

170. *a villager*] the inhabitant of a small village as opposed to a Roman citizen. The story of St. Paul illustrates the proud position of the *civis Romanus*.

171. *to repute*] Compare *King John*, I. i. 134:

"Whether had'st thou rather be a Faulconbridge
And like thy brother to enjoy thy land."

See Abbott, sec. 350, where other instances are quoted in which "to" is omitted in the former and inserted in the latter of two clauses after the same verb.

172. *as*] See note on 33.

174. *struck*] By this metaphor Cassius compares his words to the steel and Brutus to the flint from which sparks are struck. Compare IV. iii. 110.

181. *The angry spot, etc.*] With a few graphic touches the poet places the group before our eyes individually and collectively. The angry spot on Cæsar's brow would be red. Compare "red-look'd anger," *Winter's Tale*, II. ii. 34.

As we have seen him in the Capitol, 185
Being cross'd in conference by some senators.

Cas. Casca will tell us what the matter is.

Cæs. Antonius!

Ant. Cæsar?

Cæs. Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep a-nights. 190
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

Ant. Fear him not, Cæsar, he's not dangerous;
He is a noble Roman, and well given.

188. *Antonius*] *Antonio* Ff. 190. *a-nights*] F 1, 2; *a nights* F 3, 4; *o' nights* Capell and later editors.

185. *As*] Here we have a blending of two constructions, "with ferret and fiery eyes as we have seen," etc., and "with such ferret and fiery eyes as he has been seen to have," etc. Ferrets' eyes are red.

190. *Sleek-headed men*] men with smooth, glossy, unwrinkled faces. Cassius is called the "lean and wrinkled Cassius" in *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. xi. 37.

190. *a-nights*] This is a combination of two ways of expressing time, (1) the preposition "on" or "an" weakened into "a" as in such words as "aboard," and (2) the genitive suffix "s" forming a temporal adverb as in "whiles," line 206. Compare "nowadays" and "of yore" for the redundancy in the phrase.

191. *Yond*] survives, slightly altered, in the Scotch "yon"=that. Plutarch says that Cæsar was thinking of Brutus as well as Cassius when he expressed his fear of lean men. Hearing that Antony and Dolabella were plotting against him, he said, "As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads, I never reckon of them; but these pale-visaged and carrion-lean people, I fear them most"—meaning Brutus and Cassius. On another occasion Plutarch represents Cæsar as saying with special reference to Cassius, "What will Cassius do, think you? I like not his pale looks." Warburton remarks that Ben Jonson is parodying this passage in his *Bartholomew Fair*, when Knockem says to the pig-woman, "Come, there's no malice in fat folks; I never fear thee, if I can 'scape thy lean moon-calf there." The Earl of Sterline transforms Cæsar's expression of the harmlessness of fat men into the pompous line: "No corpulent sanguinians make me fear." Fat men are indeed generally regarded as merry and good-natured. Hence the proverb "Laugh and grow fat." Wilkie Collins, however, in his *Woman in White*, describes Count Fosco as "immensely fat." There are few, if any, other fat villains in fiction.

194. *well given*] of an excellent disposition. The expression occurs in North's *Plutarch*, where, however, we are told that Cassius was not "so well given and conditioned" as Brutus. Elsewhere in Shakespeare we find "virtuously given," "lewdly given," and "cannibally given."

Cæs. Would he were fatter! But I fear him not: 195
Yet if my name were liable to fear,
I do not know the man I should avoid
So soon as that spare Cassius. He reads much;
He is a great observer, and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men; he loves no plays, 200
As thou dost, Antony; he hears no music;
Seldom he smiles, and smiles in such a sort
As if he mock'd himself, and scorn'd his spirit
That could be mov'd to smile at any thing.
Such men as he be never at heart's ease 205
Whiles they behold a greater than themselves,
And therefore are they very dangerous.
I rather tell thee what is to be fear'd
Than what I fear, for always I am Cæsar.
Come on my right hand, for this ear is deaf, 210
And tell me truly what thou think'st of him.

[*Sennet. Exeunt Cæsar and his Train. Casca stays behind.*

Casca. You pull'd me by the cloak; would you speak with me?

196. *my name*] is merely a periphrasis for "I." The confusion between names and persons is natural and common in poetry. Compare *Æneid*, vi. 763, Revelation xi. 13 (margin), *P. L.* ii. 964, 965, "Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name Of Demogorgon."

200. *through the deeds of men*] *sc.* to their characters.

201. *no music*] Compare the *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 83:

"The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."

209. *I am Cæsar*] In Plutarch, Balbus prevents him from rising in honour of the Senate, saying, "What, do you not remember that you are Cæsar?"

210. *this ear is deaf*] This is intended for the information of the audience. The remark is not dramatically appropriate, as Antony, being Cæsar's familiar friend, must have been well

Bru. Ay, Casca; tell us what hath chanced to-day,
That Cæsar looks so sad.
Casca. Why, you were with him, were you not? 215
Bru. I should not then ask Casca what had chanced.
Casca. Why, there was a crown offered him; and, being offered him, he put it by with the back of his hand, thus; and then the people fell a-shouting. 220
Bru. What was the second noise for?
Casca. Why, for that too.
Cas. They shouted thrice: what was the last cry for?
Casca. Why, for that too.
Bru. Was the crown offered him thrice? 225
Casca. Ay, marry, was 't, and he put it by thrice, every time gentler than other; and at every putting-by mine honest neighbours shouted.
Cas. Who offered him the crown?
Casca. Why, Antony. 230
Bru. Tell us the manner of it, gentle Casca.
Casca. I can as well be hanged as tell the manner of it: it was mere foolery; I did not mark it. I saw Mark Antony offer him a crown;

216. *had*] Ff, *hath* Steevens.

acquainted with his defect. Cæsar's deafness is not mentioned by Plutarch.

219. *thus*] Here Casca imitates Cæsar's action. For this use of "thus" referring to the speaker's gesture or action, compare III. i. 123, IV. iii. 26, *Othello*, V. ii. 236, *Æneid*, ii. 643, iv. 660, and Homer's Σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον.

226. *marry*] a corruption of Mary, was an oath by the Virgin Mary.

227. *gentler than other*] more gently than the previous time; "other" = "the other," as in "each other."

228. *mine*] See Abbott, sec. 237.

228. *honest*] often used, as here, of inferiors in a patronising, half-contemptuous sense.

231. *gentle*] is a strange epithet to apply to Casca, whom Brutus afterwards more correctly calls "blunt" (300). The epithet is intended to conciliate Casca, so that he may comply with the request of Brutus. Compare "gentle Catesby" (*Richard III.* III. i. 169) and "gentle Tyrrel" (*Richard III.* IV. iii. 28).

yet 'twas not a crown neither, 'twas one of 235
these coronets; and, as I told you, he put it
by once; but, for all that, to my thinking,
he would fain have had it. Then he offered
it to him again; then he put it by again; but,
to my thinking, he was very loath to lay his 240
fingers off it. And then he offered it the third
time; he put it the third time by; and still as
he refused it, the rabblement shouted, and
clapped their chopped hands, and threw up
their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a 245
deal of stinking breath because Cæsar refused
the crown, that it had almost choked Cæsar;
for he swounded and fell down at it. And for

243. *shouted*] Hanmer; *howted* F 1, 2, 3; *houted* F 4; *hooted* Johnson.
248. *swounded*] *swoonded* Ff, *swooned* Rowe and many later editors.

235, 236. *one of these coronets*] According to Plutarch "a diadem wreathed about with laurel." This self-correction gives a wonderful air of naturalness to Casca's remarks. Many such touches may be found in *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe*—*e.g.*, "The moment he cried out, they fired — I mean the two men, the captain himself reserving his own piece."

236. *these*] indicates that his hearers were familiar with the kind of coronets meant. So "these" is here nearly equivalent to the colloquial use of "your" in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 3: "But if you mouth it as many of your players do."

243. *shouted*] Dyce is almost certainly right in supposing that the initial letter of this word dropped out in printing the Folio. It is true that "hoot" is spelt "howt" in the Folio in iii. 28, but this verb always implies contempt or ill-will and could not well be used to express shouts of applause. The shouting here is the same as that heard by Brutus in line 78, and there spelt "showting" in the Folio. Also in line 228 of this scene the Folio has "showted." It is not likely that Shakespeare should in line 243 suddenly employ a different and inappropriate word to describe the same shouting.

244. *chopped hands*] hands cracked and scarred with manual labour. "Chop" and "chap" are different forms of the same word. Here, and in the similar passages in *Coriolanus*, we seem to see the contempt felt by the perfumed Elizabethan gallants for the "great unwashed."

248. *swounded*] This form is found in Chaucer and Spenser. The "d" is added for greater ease in pronunciation, as in "thunder," "sound," and in "vildly," the Folio spelling for "vilely" in IV. iii. 132.

mine own part, I durst not laugh, for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air. 250

Cas. But soft, I pray you: what! did Cæsar swound?

Casca. He fell down in the market-place, and foamed at mouth, and was speechless.

Bru. 'Tis very like he hath the falling-sickness.

Cas. No, Cæsar hath it not; but you, and I, 255
And honest Casca, we have the falling-sickness.

Casca. I know not what you mean by that; but I am sure Cæsar fell down. If the tag-rag people did not clap him and hiss him, according as he pleased and displeased them, as they 260 use to do the players in the theatre, I am no true man.

Bru. What said he when he came unto himself?

Casca. Marry, before he fell down, when he perceived

251. *swound*] Ff, *swoon* Rowe. 254. *like he*] Ff; *like; he* Theobald, Dyce.

254. *like he hath*] In North's *Plutarch* we read that Cæsar "was lean, white, and soft-skinned, and often subject to head-ache, and otherwhile to the falling-sickness (the which took him the first time, as it is reported, in Corduba, a city in Spain)." On the strength of this passage, Theobald, Craik, Dyce, and other editors put a semicolon after "like," arguing that, as Brutus *knew* that Cæsar was subject to the falling-sickness, he certainly does not mean to say, "It is very likely that Cæsar hath the falling-sickness." Such minute consistency with Plutarch can hardly be assumed in Shakespeare. Also, if the fact that Cæsar had the falling-sickness was notorious, why should Brutus inform his hearers of the fact? It is not in accordance with Brutus's usual courtesy that he should here pronounce an opinion of the *probability* of a fact that Casca had distinctly asserted on the evidence of his eyesight.

254. *falling-sickness*] epilepsy, so called because those afflicted with it suddenly fall down. For the use of "falling" see note on i. 4.

256. Cassius means that, in a truer and deeper sense of the term, they had the falling-sickness, because they had fallen to the position of underlings (line 139), as compared with Cæsar.

258. *I am sure*] Casca thinks that Cassius is casting doubt on his assertion that Cæsar fell down.

258. *tag-rag*] is a contemptuous term for the people regarded as a ragged appendage to society. The longer form is "tag-rag and bob-tail." "Tag" is used alone in this sense in *Coriolanus*, III. i. 248.

259. *hiss him*] when he seemed inclined to accept the crown.

the common herd were glad he refused the 265
crown, he plucked me ope his doublet and
offered them his throat to cut. And I had
been a man of any occupation, if I would not
have taken him at a word, I would I might
go to hell among the rogues. And so he fell. 270
When he came to himself again, he said, If he
had done or said anything amiss, he desired
their worships to think it was his infirmity.
Three or four wenches, where I stood, cried
"Alas! good soul," and forgave him with all 275
their hearts; but there's no heed to be taken
of them: if Cæsar had stabbed their mothers,
they would have done no less.

Bru. And after that, he came, thus sad, away?

Casca. Ay. 280

Cas. Did Cicero say any thing?

266. *me*] ethical dative, expressing Casca's interest in the fact he was relating. Compare *Horace*, Ep. I. iii. 15: "Quid mihi Celsus agit?" and the many instances collected in Abbott, sec. 220.

266. *doublet*] Shakespeare follows North in giving Cæsar an Elizabethan doublet instead of a classical tunic.

267. *offered them his throat*] Compare III. i. 157, IV. iii. 99. Cato in Addison's drama, when plotted against, says to the conspirators:

"Behold my bosom naked to your swords,
And let the man that's injured strike the blow."

267. *And*] with the subjunctive expressed conditionality. Afterwards, as the force of the subjunctive became weaker, "and" in conditional clauses was strengthened by the addition of "if," and altered into "an." See Abbott, secs. 101–103. The old spelling "and" in conditional clauses is almost always given in the Folios, and there seems no reason to alter it into "an," as is done by Dyce and other recent editors. Here the two forms of the conditional particle are convenient. "And" introduces a conditional clause subordinate to the conditional clause introduced by "if."

268. *a man of any occupation*] a workman. Compare *Coriolanus*, IV. vi. 97:

"you that stood so much
Upon the voice of occupation, and
The breath of garlic-eaters."

269. *at a word*] at his word, as we should now say.

273. *think it was his infirmity*] ascribe it to his weak state of health.

Casca. Ay, he spoke Greek.

Cas. To what effect?

Casca. Nay, and I tell you that, I 'll ne'er look you i' the face again; but those that understood him smiled at one another and shook their heads; but, for mine own part, it was Greek to me. I could tell you more news too; Marullus and Flavius, for pulling scarfs off Cæsar's images, are put to silence. Fare you well. There was more foolery yet, if I could remember it.

Cas. Will you sup with me to-night, Casca?

Casca. No, I am promised forth.

Cas. Will you dine with me to-morrow?

Casca. Ay, if I be alive, and your mind hold, and your dinner worth the eating.

Cas. Good; I will expect you.

Casca. Do so. Farewell, both. [*Exit.*

Bru. What a blunt fellow is this grown to be!

289. *Marullus*] *Murrellus* F 1; *Murellus* F 2, 3, 4.

282. *spoke Greek*] Cicero knew Greek almost as well as his mother tongue, on which account the common people called him "the Grecian." From the smile that followed his remark we may suppose that it was one of the biting sarcasms for which he was famous, and which sometimes, as we see in Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, took the form of Greek quotations.

284. *and*] See note on 267.

287, 288. *Greek to me*] unintelligible to me. Here "Greek" has its secondary proverbial meaning. Plutarch, however, happens to mention that Casca himself spoke Greek when calling upon his brother to help him at the assassination of Cæsar.

289. *scarfs*] Suetonius says that a "laurel crown fastened with a white fillet" was placed on Cæsar's statue. So the diadems, which, according to Plutarch, were placed on Cæsar's images, being partly composed of cloth, could naturally be called scarfs.

296. *and your mind hold*] This condition implies a cynical belief in the fickleness of men. Casca professes to think that Cassius may suddenly change his mind and not want his company at dinner. Walker suggests "and my mind hold," condemning "your" as absurd.

300. *blunt*] plain, rough, unpolished, as in III. ii. 225.

He was quick mettle when he went to school.

Cas. So is he now in execution
Of any bold or noble enterprise,
However he puts on this tardy form.
This rudeness is a sauce to his good wit, 305
Which gives men stomach to digest his words
With better appetite.

Bru. And so it is. For this time I will leave you:
To-morrow, if you please to speak with me,
I will come home to you; or, if you will, 310
Come home to me, and I will wait for you.

Cas. I will do so: till then, think of the world.

[*Exit Brutus.*

Well, Brutus, thou art noble; yet, I see,
Thy honourable mettle may be wrought
From that it is dispos'd: therefore 'tis meet 315
That noble minds keep ever with their likes;

306. *digest*] F 3, 4; *disgest* F 1, 2. 314. *mettle*] F 1; *metall* F 2; *metal* F 3, 4.

301. *mettle*] stands for "of mettle" or "mettled," but there is no reason to follow Collier's MS. corrector and alter it into "mettled." This use of the abstract for the concrete, which Masson calls the Miltonic ellipse, is common in Shakespeare and Milton. Compare I. i. 5, *P. L.* i. 285, and *Othello*, V. ii. 253: "It is a sword of Spain, the ice-brook's temper."

304. *tardy form*] appearance of sluggishness.

306. *digest*] the spelling of the third and fourth Folio, is to be preferred, as the first Folio also spells the word in this way in IV. iii. 47.

312. *the world*] *sc.* and how it is enslaved by Cæsar. Compare 129, 133.

313. *thou*] Here Cassius uses the familiar "thou" in addressing the absent Brutus, whom he addresses when present as "you," except in the rhetorical passage IV. iii. 102–106.

314. *Thy honourable mettle*] thy noble disposition may by association with those who are not noble be altered so as to act contrary to its nature. Here, as in i. 65, the comparison implied in the application of the term "mettle" or "metal" to the disposition is present to the consciousness of the speaker. Shakespeare is thinking of the attempts of the alchemists to transmute base metals by taking away their natural qualities and superinducing on them the qualities of gold. For the spelling of the word, see note on i. 66.

315. *From that it is dispos'd*] from that (to which) it is disposed. For the ellipse of the relative compare II. i. 309, IV. iii. 64.

For who so firm that cannot be seduc'd?
Cæsar doth bear me hard; but he loves Brutus:
If I were Brutus now and he were Cassius,
He should not humour me. I will this night, 320
In several hands, in at his windows throw,
As if they came from several citizens,
Writings all tending to the great opinion
That Rome holds of his name; wherein obscurely
Cæsar's ambition shall be glanced at: 325
And after this let Cæsar seat him sure;
For we will shake him, or worse days endure. [*Exit.*

317. *who so firm that*] a blending of two constructions, "who is there that" and "who so firm that he."

318. *doth bear me hard*] regards me with ill-will, bears me a grudge. The phrase occurs again in II. i. 215, and in III. i. 157.

319. *If I were Brutus, etc.*] Johnson is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of this passage. The meaning is that, if Brutus and Cassius were to change places and Cassius became the object of Cæsar's love, then Cassius would not be perverted from his principles by Cæsar's affection as Brutus was. In the Earl of Sterline's *Julius Cæsar* Cassius regards Cæsar's favour as likely to pervert Brutus, and says:

"Lest of his favour thou the poison prove
From swallowing of such baits in time now spare."

According to Plutarch, Cassius' friends prayed Brutus to "beware of Cæsar's sweet enticements and to fly his tyrannical favours, the which they said Cæsar gave him, not to honour his virtue, but to weaken his constant mind." Warburton explains the passage as meaning "If I were Brutus and Brutus Cassius, he should not cajole me as I do him." This interpretation, which commends itself to Craik, Aldis Wright, and Verity, is based on a misconception of the character of Cassius. If we adopt it, we should have to regard Cassius in line 314 as cynically contemplating the perversion of the noble disposition of Brutus, and as recognising his own ignobility. Cassius is not so high minded as Brutus. He is somewhat unscrupulous in his use of means, and his conduct is no doubt partly influenced by personal feelings of envy. But he is not a villain conscious of his villainy like Richard III. (*Richard III.* I. i. 30) and Iago (*Othello*, I. iii. 399; II. i. 321). He really has a high opinion of his own uprightness, and regards himself as a true patriot.

321. *hands*] handwritings, as in *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 52: "Know you the hand? 'Tis Hamlet's character."

324. *his name*] because a great deal of the honour paid to Brutus was due to his having the same name as the ancient Brutus.

327. *worse days*] because, as was generally recognised, the failure of a plot against a tyrant made his rule more tyrannical. Hume remarks in his *Principles of Morals* that tyrannicide was highly extolled in ancient times, but, "history and experience having since convinced us that this

SCENE III.—*The Same. A Street.*

Thunder and lightning. Enter, from opposite sides, CASCA, *with his sword drawn, and* CICERO.

Cic. Good even, Casca: brought you Cæsar home?
Why are you breathless? and why stare you so?
Casca. Are not you mov'd, when all the sway of earth
Shakes like a thing unfirm? O Cicero!
I have seen tempests, when the scolding winds 5
Have riv'd the knotty oaks; and I have seen
The ambitious ocean swell and rage and foam,
To be exalted with the threat'ning clouds:
But never till to night, never till now,
Did I go through a tempest dropping fire. 10

10. *tempest dropping fire*] *tempest-dropping-fire* Ff.

practice increases the jealousy and cruelty of princes, a Timoleon and a Brutus, though treated with indulgence on account of the prejudices of their times, are now considered as very improper models for imitation." Notice the rhymed couplet here at the end of a scene and in v. v. 80, 81 at the end of the play. As Abbott remarks, sec. 515, "Rhyme was often used as an effective termination at the end of the scene. When the scenery was not changed, or the arrangements were so defective that the change was not easily perceptible, it was, perhaps, additionally desirable to mark that a scene was finished."

Scene III.

1. *brought you*] did you conduct?

3. *sway of earth*] "the balanced swing of earth," according to Craik; "the whole weight or momentum of this globe," according to Johnson. Compare *King John*, II. i. 575: "The world who of itself is peised well." Perhaps Shakespeare wrote "this weight of earth," and, owing to the close similarity of sound, it was altered into "the sway of earth." Compare Virgil, *Eclogue* iv. 50: "Aspice nutantem convexo pondere mundum." Another way to understand the passage is to take "sway" in the sense of "government," and understand the meaning to be that there was such confusion in the earth that the reign of law was in danger of succumbing to chaos and anarchy. Compare *P. L.* ii. 896 and 988, where Milton calls chaos an "anarch."

5. *scolding winds*] This supports the reading of the Folio in *Othello*, II. i. 12: "The chidden billow seems to pelt the clouds," as against the Quarto "chiding."

6. *knotty*] implies hardness. Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 50, and 316: "Blunt wedges rive hard knots."

10. *a tempest dropping fire*] "fires in the element," North's *Plutarch*. The expression vividly suggests showers of meteors such as were seen in England in November 1866.

Either there is a civil strife in heaven,
Or else the world, too saucy with the gods,
Incenses them to send destruction.

Cic. Why, saw you any thing more wonderful?

Casca. A common slave, you know him well by sight, 15
Held up his left hand, which did flame and burn
Like twenty torches join'd; and yet his hand,
Not sensible of fire, remain'd unscorch'd.
Besides, I ha' not since put up my sword,
Against the Capitol I met a lion, 20
Who glaz'd upon me, and went surly by,
Without annoying me; and there were drawn

19. *ha'*] Ff, *have* Capell and later editors. 21. *glaz'd*] Ff, *glar'd* Rowe, *gaz'd* Malone.

14. *more wonderful*] than the tempest dropping fire, which the coldly intellectual Cicero regards as a natural phenomenon and not wonderful enough to justify Casca's excitement. Craik understands "anything more wonderful" to mean "anything more that was wonderful," comparing *Coriolanus*, IV. vi. 62:

"The slave's report is seconded and more,
More fearful, is delivered."

Abbott, sec. 6, supposes "more wonderful" to have the sense of the Latin comparative and mean "more wonderful than usual."

15. *A common slave*] in Plutarch "a slave of the soldiers, that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand" and yet was not burnt. A soldier's slave would be a slave of the lowest class. The wonderful character of the portent was increased by the fact that it was manifested by an ordinary slave, not a mysterious stranger, but a man whom Cicero himself happened to know by sight. It has been suggested that Shakespeare meant by "common slave" a public slave attending at one of the public offices, whom Cicero as a public man would know well by sight. This is, however, an unnecessary divergence from the meaning indicated by Plutarch's words.

19. *ha'*] Casca's excitement is indicated not only by the naked sword which he had forgotten to return to the scabbard, but also, as Mark Hunter points out, by the contraction of "have."

20. *a lion*] is not mentioned in Plutarch's account of the signs and wonders that preceded Cæsar's death. There were at the time in Rome many lions, that had been imported for the sports of the amphitheatre. But what probably suggested to Shakespeare the appearance of a lion against the Capitol was the fact that in the Tower of London, the English Capitol (see note on II. i. 110), lions had been kept since the time of Henry I. These lions were regarded with superstitious awe by the people of London.

21. *glaz'd*] looked fixedly, stared. "Glaze" is still used in this sense in provincial dialects. The *English Dialect Dictionary* gives "What be 'ee glazin' at?"

22. *annoying*] See note on II. i. 160.

Upon a heap a hundred ghastly women,
Transformed with their fear, who swore they saw
Men all in fire walk up and down the streets. 25
And yesterday the bird of night did sit,
Even at noon-day, upon the market-place,
Hooting and shrieking. When these prodigies
Do so conjointly meet, let not men say
"These are their reasons, they are natural"; 30
For, I believe, they are portentous things
Unto the climate that they point upon.

Cic. Indeed, it is a strange-disposed time:
But men may construe things after their fashion,
Clean from the purpose of the things themselves. 35
Comes Cæsar to the Capitol to-morrow?

Casca. He doth; for he did bid Antonius
Send word to you he would be there to-morrow.

Cic. Good night then, Casca: this disturbed sky
Is not to walk in.

Casca. Farewell, Cicero. [*Exit Cicero.* 40

28. *Hooting*] Johnson; *Howting* F 1, 2, 3; *Houting* F 4. 37. *Antonius*] *Antonio* Ff.

25. *Men all in fire*] "Strabo the philosopher writeth that divers men were seen going up and down in fire" (*Plutarch*).

29. *let not men say, etc.*] short for "let not men suggest physical explanations and say such and such are their reasons, etc." "These" = "these and these" in II. i. 31. For the general meaning compare *Lear*, I. ii. 112: "These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us. Though the wisdom of nature can reason it thus and thus, yet nature finds itself scourged by the sequent effects"; and *Othello*, IV. i. 40: "Nature would not invest herself in such shadowing passion without some instruction." The whole passage is an elaborate instance of what Ruskin calls in his *Modern Painters* the pathetic fallacy. For other passages in which poets have expressed the sympathy between external nature and human fortune, see *P. L.* ix. 782–784, 1001–1003.

32. *climate*] country, as in *Richard II.* IV. i. 130.

35. *Clean from the purpose*] in a way entirely opposed to their real meaning. This use of "clean," which is now colloquial, was common in Shakespeare and the Authorised Version of the Bible, *e.g.*, Psalm lxxvii. 8. For "from," see line 64.

40. *not to walk in*] Compare *Lear*, III. iv. 116: "A naughty night to swim in."

Enter CASSIUS.

Cas. Who's there?
Casca. A Roman.
Cas. Casca, by your voice.
Casca. Your ear is good. Cassius, what night is this?
Cas. A very pleasing night to honest men.
Casca. Who ever knew the heavens menace so?
Cas. Those that have known the earth so full of faults. 45
For my part, I have walk'd about the streets,
Submitting me unto the perilous night,
And, thus unbraced, Casca, as you see,
Have bar'd my bosom to the thunder-stone;
And when the cross blue lightning seem'd to open 50
The breast of heaven, I did present myself
Even in the aim and very flash of it.
Casca. But wherefore did you so much tempt the heavens?
It is the part of men to fear and tremble

42. *what night is this?*] what manner or kind of night is this? Casca asks Cassius what he thinks of the strange night. For "what" in the sense of "what kind of," compare *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 207: "Jove knows what man thou mightst have made." Dyce alters the note of interrogation into an exclamation point, on the ground that Casca is "not putting a question, but uttering an exclamation of surprise," as Cinna certainly is in line 137. In such exclamations "a" may be omitted after "what" in Shakespearian English, as in *Venus and Adonis*, line 1075: "Alas, poor world, what treasure hast thou lost!"

43. *honest men*] men of right political principles, equivalent to *boni*, the term applied by Cicero to members of the aristocratic party, as, for instance, when he said "Omnes boni quantum in ipsis fuit Cæsarem occiderunt."

48. *unbraced*] See note on II. i. 262.

49. *thunder-stone*] a stone supposed to fall with destructive effect in thunder-storms, and therefore called in *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 271, "the all-dreaded thunder-stone." The fossil bones, called belemnites (Gr. *belemnon*, a bolt), were supposed to be thunder-stones.

50. *cross*] zig-zag, forked, as in *Lear*, IV. vii. 35.

50. *blue*] As sulphur burns with a blue flame, "blue" is equivalent to "sulphurous," the epithet applied to lightning in *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 115, *Lear*, III. ii. 4, and *Pericles*, III. i. 6. Milton has "thwarting thunder blue" (*Arcades*, 51), which is exactly equivalent to "cross blue lightning."

When the most mighty gods by tokens send 55
Such dreadful heralds to astonish us.

Cas. You are dull, Casca, and those sparks of life
That should be in a Roman you do want,
Or else you use not. You look pale, and gaze,
And put on fear, and cast yourself in wonder, 60
To see the strange impatience of the heavens;
But if you would consider the true cause
Why all these fires, why all these gliding ghosts,
Why birds and beasts, from quality and kind—
Why old men, fools, and children calculate, 65

64. *kind*—] *kind* Ff. 65. *Why old men, fools, and*] Ff; *why old men fool and* Grant White and later editors.

56. *astonish*] astound.

57. *You are dull*] Cassius says this to rouse Casca. His reply to Brutus in ii. 302–307 shows that he did not really suppose Casca to be dull.

59. *gaze*]look with fixed, staring eyes.

60. *put on*] For the metaphor compare ii. 304, *Macbeth*, III. iv. 105, "Trembling I inhabit," and the passage quoted below from *Much Ado About Nothing*.

60. *cast yourself in wonder*] throw yourself into a state of wonder. Compare Psalm lxxvi. 6, "The chariot and horse are cast into a dead sleep," and *All's Well*, II. iii. 222: "Do not plunge thyself too far in anger." For "in" with verbs of motion, compare the *Merchant of Venice*, V. i. 56: "Let the sounds of music creep in our ears," and see Abbott, sec. 159. Dyce accepts "case," the reading suggested by Mr. Swynfen Jervis, who quotes *Much Ado About Nothing*, IV. i. 146, "attir'd in wonder."

61. *impatience*] anger, as in II. i. 248.

64. *from quality and kind*] Most commentators understand "are" and explain the line as meaning, "Why birds and beasts act in a way opposed to their natures," comparing the use of "from" in line 35. It seems better to suppose that the speaker at first intended to say, "Why beasts and birds from quality and kind change to monstrous quality" (cf. 66, 68), but left the clause incomplete owing to change of thought and the interruption due to the next clause. Such breaks of construction are common and natural in excited conversation. Compare II. i. 115, and *Winter's Tale*, V. ii. 94, quoted in Abbott, sec. 415.

65. *old men, fools*] In *King John*, IV. ii. 185, when five moons appear,

"Old men and beldames in the streets
Do prophesy upon it dangerously."

Here the prodigies are so awful, that their alarming significance makes not only those who are aged and therefore wise, but even fools and children prophesy. Another way to interpret the passage is to regard the exhibition of prophetic power by old men as something unnatural. If we take the passage thus, we must think of the last age described in *As You Like It*, II. vii. 165, when old age reduces men to a state of "second childish-

Why all these things change from their ordinance,
Their natures, and preformed faculties,
To monstrous quality, why, you shall find
That heaven hath infus'd them with these spirits
To make them instruments of fear and warning 70
Unto some monstrous state.
Now could I, Casca, name to thee a man
Most like this dreadful night,
That thunders, lightens, opens graves, and roars
As doth the lion in the Capitol, 75
A man no mightier than thyself or me
In personal action, yet prodigious grown
And fearful as these strange eruptions are.

68. *why*,] *why* Ff. 71, 72, 73. Capell makes the metre regular by reading:

Unto some monstrous state. Now could I, Casca,
Name thee a man most like this dreadful night.

74. *roars*] F 1; *tears* F 2, 3, 4.

ness and mere oblivion." As, however, ripe wisdom is more naturally connected with old age, most editors now read "old men fool" (*i.e.* think and act foolishly), the reading suggested by Mitford, or retaining the original reading, make "old men" subject and "fools" predicate. See Appendix.

67. *preformed faculties*] the powers with which they were originally endowed by nature.

71. *monstrous state*] unnatural state of affairs. "Monstrous" is repeated from line 68 to mark the correspondence between the signs and the thing signified.

74. *That*] has "man" for antecedent. Cæsar thundered, lightened, and opened graves like the dreadful night, and roared like the lion. "Thunders" and "roars" express the awe inspired by his voice, "lightens," the brightness of his glory indicated in line 110. We may compare the description in Aristophanes (*Acharnians*, 531) of how Pericles ἤστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Shakespeare may have read and remembered the translation in North's *Plutarch* of the line of Teleclides on the same Pericles: "He thundereth fast and threateneth every state." Compare also *P. R.* iv. 270, and Matthew Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult*, in which we read that Alexander

"thundered on
To die at thirty-five in Babylon."

Cæsar is hyperbolically described as opening graves, because his name was so great that it might almost call up spirits from the lower world. Compare ii. 145, where Cassius to serve his purpose is depreciating the greatness of Cæsar's name.

75. *the lion*] mentioned in line 20. Although we were not then told that it was roaring, there is no reason why this detail should not now be added.

Casca. 'Tis Cæsar that you mean; is it not, Cassius?
Cas. Let it be who it is: for Romans now 80
Have thews and limbs like to their ancestors;
But, woe the while! our fathers' minds are dead,
And we are govern'd with our mothers' spirits;
Our yoke and sufferance show us womanish.
Casca. Indeed, they say the senators to-morrow 85
Mean to establish Cæsar as a king;
And he shall wear his crown by sea and land,
In every place, save here in Italy.
Cas. I know where I will wear this dagger then;
Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius: 90
Therein, ye gods, you make the weak most strong;
Therein, ye gods, you tyrants do defeat:
Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit; 95
But life, being weary of these worldly bars,
Never lacks power to dismiss itself.
If I know this, know all the world besides,
That part of tyranny that I do bear
I can shake off at pleasure. [*Thunder still.*
Casca. So can I: 100
So every bondman in his own hand bears

82. *woe the while*] For the case of "while" (=time), compare III. i. 258.

88. *save here in Italy*] According to Plutarch, Decius Brutus told Cæsar on the day of the assassination that the Senate were ready "to proclaim him king of all the provinces of the empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land." In like manner, when the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India, it was provided that she should not assume her new title of Empress in England.

91. *Therein*] in this way, *i.e.* by giving man the power of ending his own life.

93. *walls of beaten brass*] Compare Horace, *Odes*, I. xvi. 1, and Lovelace's well-known lines:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage."

The power to cancel his captivity.

Cas. And why should Cæsar be a tyrant then?
Poor man! I know he would not be a wolf
But that he sees the Romans are but sheep; 105
He were no lion were not Romans hinds.
Those that with haste will make a mighty fire
Begin it with weak straws; what trash is Rome,
What rubbish, and what offal, when it serves
For the base matter to illuminate 110
So vile a thing as Cæsar! But, O grief!
Where hast thou led me? I perhaps speak this
Before a willing bondman; then I know
My answer must be made: but I am arm'd,
And dangers are to me indifferent. 115

Casca. You speak to Casca, and to such a man
That is no fleering tell-tale. Hold, my hand:

102. *cancel his captivity*] Henley compares *Cymbeline*, V. iv. 28:

"take this life
And cancel these cold bonds."

In both passages the verb "cancel" is used, because "bond," besides meaning a chain, also means a written obligation that may be cancelled.

105. *the Romans are but sheep*] Compare III. i. 45, 46. Tacitus mentions a tradition that Tiberius, as often as he went out of the Senate, used to cry out in Greek, "How fitted for slavery are these men!" Compare *Lear*, I. ii. 54: "aged tyranny, who sways, not as it hath power, but as it is suffered," and for the converse, *3 Henry VI.* II. vi. 11–21.

106. *hinds*] deer. The word also suggests the contemptuous meaning of "servant," "menial," which it bears in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 73, "heartless hinds."

108. *trash*] originally meant twigs, leaves, and other rubbish such as could be used to light a fire. This original meaning suits the passage well and seems to be intended by Shakespeare, who, in *Tempest*, I. ii. 8, uses the verb "trash" to express the pruning of trees.

109. *offal*] is also used in its original sense, and means chips and shavings which *fall off* when wood is cut, and can be conveniently used to light a fire.

114. *My answer must be made*] I shall be denounced to Cæsar and be called upon to give an account of my words.

117. *That*] See note on ii. 317.

117. *Hold, my hand*] Some modern editors, following Theobald, omit the comma after "hold" so as to make "hold" govern "hand." Dyce shows that the expression is elliptical, quoting from an old play: "Hold thee, George Bettes, there's my hand and my heart."

Be factious for redress of all these griefs,
And I will set this foot of mine as far
As who goes furthest.

Cas. There 's a bargain made. 120
Now know you, Casca, I have mov'd already
Some certain of the noblest-minded Romans
To undergo with me an enterprise
Of honourable-dangerous consequence;
And I do know, by this they stay for me 125
In Pompey's porch: for now, this fearful night,
There is no stir or walking in the streets;
And the complexion of the element
In favour's like the work we have in hand,
Most bloody, fiery, and most terrible. 130

124. *honourable-dangerous*] *honourable dangerous* Ff. 129. *In favour's like*] Johnson; *Is Fauors, like* F 1, 2; *Is Favours, like* F 3, 4; *Is feav'rous like* Rowe; *Is favour'd like* Capell; *It favours like* Steevens; *Is Mavors, like* Browning. 130. *bloody, fiery*] Ff, *bloody-fiery* Dyce following Walker.

118. *Be factious*] form a party. Johnson takes "factious" to mean "active."

120. *who*] relative with antecedent understood.

124. *honourable - dangerous*] See note on ii. 85.

126. *Pompey's porch*] Plutarch relates that "Pompey's porch," one of the porches round the great stone theatre built by Pompey, B.C. 55, was the place where the Senate met, and where Cæsar was assassinated on the Ides of March. Shakespeare, however, makes the Capitol the scene of Cæsar's assassination, and utilises Pompey's porch as a meeting-place for the conspirators on the stormy night.

128. *element*] sky, as in *Twelfth Night*, I. i. 26.

129. *favour*] See note on ii. 90. Steevens's reading "It favours like" has a double redundancy, "It" being a redundant subject, and the resemblance being expressed by "like," as well as by "favours." Rowe's conjecture is supported by the parallel passage in *Macbeth* (II. iii. 66), in which we find the line: "Some say the earth was feverous and did shake." Perring, in his *Hard Knots in Shakespeare*, ingeniously suggests that "h" has been dropped before "is." We should then read "His favour's like," "His" being neuter, as in ii. 123, and referring either to "complexion" or "element," and take "complexion" as a noun left absolute owing to change of construction, like *Marmion*, II. xix. 18–23, and I. xv. 21:

"His bosom—when he sigh'd
The russet doublet's rugged fold
Could scarce repel its pride."

The poet Browning suggested "Is Mavors, like," *i.e.* is red and threatening like the planet Mars.

Casca. Stand close awhile, for here comes one in haste.
Cas. 'Tis Cinna; I do know him by his gait:
He is a friend.

Enter CINNA.

Cinna, where haste you so?
Cin. To find out you. Who 's that? Metellus Cimber?
Cas. No, it is Casca; one incorporate 135
To our attempts. Am I not stay'd for, Cinna?
Cin. I am glad on 't. What a fearful night is this!
There 's two or three of us have seen strange sights.
Cas. Am I not stay'd for? Tell me.
Cin. Yes, you are.
O Cassius! if you could 140
But win the noble Brutus to our party—
Cas. Be you content. Good Cinna, take this paper,
And look you lay it in the prætor's chair,
Where Brutus may but find it; and throw this
In at his window; set this up with wax 145

144. *but*] Ff, *best* Hudson.

131. *Stand close*] keep yourselves concealed, as in *3 Henry VI.* IV. v. 17: "Stand you thus close to steal the bishop's deer?"

134. *Metellus Cimber*] This conspirator is so called in North's translation of the *Life of Brutus.* His real name was Tillius Cimber.

138. *There's*] For the plural in "s," which appears to be a relic of the plural of the old northern dialect in English, see III. ii. 30, Abbott, secs. 333, 335, 336. It is, as might be expected, common in Dunbar and Burns. Compare at the end of the *Twa Dogs:* "There's some exceptions, man and woman." In old Scotch marriage contracts provision was usually made for children "gif ony beis" (if there are any). Skeat asks in *Notes and Queries,* "What had a Warwickshire man to do with a northern plural?" To this it may be replied that the boundaries of the dialects were not fixed by hard-and-fast lines. Even at the present day, Scotticisms and northern peculiarities of speech may be found farther south than Warwickshire.

144. *Where Brutus may but find it*] "only taking care to place it so that Brutus may be sure to find it" (Craik). But see Abbott, sec. 128, where different interpretations are given.

Upon old Brutus' statue: all this done,
Repair to Pompey's porch, where you shall find us.
Is Decius Brutus and Trebonius there?

Cin. All but Metellus Cimber, and he's gone
To seek you at your house. Well, I will hie, 150
And so bestow these papers as you bade me.

Cas. That done, repair to Pompey's theatre.
[*Exit Cinna.*

Come, Casca, you and I will yet ere day
See Brutus at his house: three parts of him
Is ours already, and the man entire 155
Upon the next encounter yields him ours.

Casca. O! he sits high in all the people's hearts:
And that which would appear offence in us,
His countenance, like richest alchemy,
Will change to virtue and to worthiness. 160

Cas. Him and his worth and our great need of him
You have right well conceited. Let us go,
For it is after midnight; and ere day
We will awake him and be sure of him. [*Exeunt.*

148. *Decius Brutus*] The historical person meant is Decimus Brutus. North, following Amyot, calls him Decius Brutus, and Shakespeare and the Earl of Sterline repeat the mistake. As Craik points out, "Decius" is a gentilitial name, and not, like "Decimus," a prænomen.

152. *Pompey's theatre*] See note on 126.

155. *Is*] See note on 138. But "three parts" may be taken collectively and regarded as singular in sense. We commonly say, for instance, "Three-fourths of twelve is nine."

156. *yields*] the present used to express certainty of the future. Compare *P. L.* iv. 965, and *Othello*, II. iii. 276: "Sue to him again, and he's yours." This usage may be accounted for by the fact that in A.S. there was no distinct form for the future, so that the present was used in a future sense.

159. *countenance*] approval.

159. *alchemy*] Compare ii. 314.

162. *conceited*] thought. Compare "horrible conceit," *Othello*, III. iii. 115. The meaning has become specialised in a bad sense since Shakespeare's time.

ACT II

SCENE I.—*Rome. Brutus's Orchard.*

Enter BRUTUS.

Bru. What, Lucius! ho!
I cannot, by the progress of the stars,
Give guess how near to day. Lucius, I say!
I would it were my fault to sleep so soundly.
When, Lucius, when! Awake, I say! What, Lucius! 5

Enter LUCIUS.

Luc. Call'd you, my lord?
Bru. Get me a taper in my study, Lucius:
When it is lighted, come and call me here.
Luc. I will, my lord. [*Exit.*
Bru. It must be by his death: and for my part, 10
I know no personal cause to spurn at him,

Orchard] is by derivation an *ortgeard* or enclosure for worts (herbs). In Shakespeare's time the word was not, as it now is, confined to the meaning of fruit garden, but used in a more general sense. Compare III. ii. 255, where "orchards" corresponds to "gardens" in North's *Plutarch*. Here, also, "orchard" means "garden."

1. *What, ho!*] a shout used to rouse any one. "What" is used alone in the same sense in V. iii. 72.

5. *When*] elliptical for "When are you coming?" expresses impatience. Compare "Come thou tortoise! when?" *Tempest*, I. ii. 316, and *Jacob and Esau*, IV. iii. 7, "Come forth: when Abra! What, Abra, I say!" which combines "when" and "what" as exclamations of impatience.

8. *come and call me here*] come here and call me. An adverbial phrase is similarly misplaced in *P. L.* ii. 917.

11. *no personal cause*] no "private grief" (III. ii. 220). On the contrary, he had a strong personal cause for gratitude, as Cæsar spared his life after Pharsalia and made him Governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 46 and city Prætor in 44 B.C.

11. *spurn*] which by derivation means kick, usually implies contempt, as here and in III. i. 46. Here it expresses angry opposition, under the

But for the general. He would be crown'd:
How that might change his nature, there's the question.
It is the bright day that brings forth the adder;
And that craves wary walking. Crown him! that! 15
And then, I grant, we put a sting in him,
That at his will he may do danger with.
The abuse of greatness is when it disjoins
Remorse from power; and, to speak truth of Cæsar,
I have not known when his affections sway'd 20

15. *Crown him! that!*] *Crown him that*, Ff.

image of a refractory horse, as in *King John*, III. i. 141:

"Why thou against the church, our holy mother,
So wilfully dost spurn."

12. *for the general*] for the sake of the general public, for "public reasons" (III. ii. 7). Compare I. i. 75, and *Hamlet*, II. ii. 457, "Caviare to the general." The sentence is concluded as if it had begun "I know no cause to spurn at him." For this common form of sense construction compare notes on 125, 127, and III. i. 47.

14. *brings forth*] out of its hole.

15. *that craves wary walking*] the fact that adders are about makes it necessary to guide our footsteps warily.

15. *Crown*] the uninflected form of the verb, merely presents the idea for consideration. "That" is in apposition to the idea of crowning, and indicates that the speaker is dwelling on the idea. Perring, however, in his *Hard Knots in Shakespeare* compares III. i. 103: "Grant that, and then is death a benefit," which indicates that "that" may be governed by "grant" understood.

16. *we put a sting*] Brutus talks as if the practically absolute power that Cæsar already possessed could not do any harm unless he had the title of king. "What is singular enough," Plutarch remarks, "while the Romans endured everything that regal power could impose, they dreaded the name of king as destructive of their liberty."

17. *do danger*] work mischief. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, V. ii. 20:

"the neglecting it
May do much danger."

19. *Remorse*] pity, as often in Shakespeare, *e.g. Macbeth*, I. v. 44: "Stop up the access and passage to remorse."

20. *affections*] is here used in a wider sense than that in which we now use the term. It means the feelings, as opposed to the reason. In this sense the word is used by Hobbes, who speaks of "anger, envy, fear, pity, and other affections," and by Bishop Butler in his *Sermons*. Thus Brutus means that he does not remember any occasion on which Cæsar allowed himself to be ruled by his feelings rather than by reason. For the wider sense of the term compare *1 Henry IV.* III. ii. 30, *Henry V.* IV. i. 110, and Spenser, *F. Q.* II. iv. 34:

More than his reason. But 'tis a common proof,
That lowliness is young ambition's ladder,
Whereto the climber-upward turns his face;
But when he once attains the upmost round,
He then unto the ladder turns his back, 25
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend. So Cæsar may:
Then, lest he may, prevent. And, since the quarrel
Will bear no colour for the thing he is,
Fashion it thus; that what he is, augmented, 30

23. *climber-upward*] *climber upward* Ff.

"Most wretched man,
That to affections does the bridle lend.
. . . . . .
Wrath, jealousy, grief, love, this squire have laid thus low."

21. *a common proof*] a matter of common experience.

22. *young ambition's ladder*] Malone compares Daniel's *Civil Wars*, 1602:
"The aspirer once attained unto the top
Cuts off those means by which himself got up."

26. *base degrees*] low steps which he now scorns. "Base" combines the ideas of lowness and contempt. For this use of "degree" compare *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 134: "I pity you; that's a degree to love."

28. *prevent*] first person plural of the subjunctive used imperatively as "fashion" (line 30), "think" (line 32), "kill" (line 34), "pass" (I. ii. 24), "break" (II. i. 116), and "go" (IV. iii. 223).

28. *quarrel*] (Lat. *querela*, complaint) ground or principle of opposition. Compare "I could not die anywhere so contented as in the king's company, his cause being just, and his quarrel honourable" (*Henry V.* IV. i. 133), and Bacon's 29th Essay: "The Turk hath at hand for cause of war the propagation of his law or sect; a quarrel that he may always command."

29. *Will bear no colour*] cannot be justified on the ground of his actual conduct. Compare *2 Henry VI.* III. i. 236: "But yet we want a colour for his death." Coleridge well remarks that "surely nothing can seem more discordant with our historical preconceptions of Brutus, or more lowering to the intellect of the Stoico-Platonic tyrannicide, than the tenets here attributed to him, the stern Roman Republican, namely, that he would have no objection to a king, or to Cæsar, a monarch in Rome, would Cæsar but be as good a monarch as he now seems disposed to be." Perhaps Shakespeare was afraid that he might offend his royal patron if he attributed pure republican sentiments to the most attractive character in the play, and therefore represented him here as opposed not to monarchy in the abstract, but only to bad monarchy.

30. *Fashion it thus*] let us regard it in this light. Brutus here, as in 175–180, is wrongly supposed to be contemplating deliberate hypocrisy. He is really trying to put such a construction on the deed as will satisfy his own conscience, and is not thinking of the opinion of the world.

Would run to these and these extremities;
And therefore think him as a serpent's egg
Which, hatch'd, would, as his kind, grow mischievous,
And kill him in the shell.

Re-enter LUCIUS.

Luc. The taper burneth in your closet, sir. 35
Searching the window for a flint, I found
This paper, thus seal'd up; and I am sure
It did not lie there when I went to bed.
[*Gives him a letter.*

Bru. Get you to bed again; it is not day.
Is not to-morrow, boy, the first of March? 40

Luc. I know not, sir.

Bru. Look in the calendar, and bring me word.

Luc. I will, sir. [*Exit.*

40. *first*] Ff, *ides* Theobald and later editors.

31. *these and these extremities*] certain extremes that he has in his mind but does not specify. Compare the use of "these" in I. iii. 30.

33. *his kind*] its species. "His" is neuter possessive, as in I. ii. 123.

34. *in the shell*] Craik well remarks that "it is impossible not to feel the expressive effect of the hemistich here. The line itself is, as it were, killed in the shell."

40. *first of March*] As is plain from the answer of Lucius (line 59), the morrow, or rather the day then commencing, for it is evident from I. iii. 163 that it was past midnight, was the fifteenth or Ides of March. It is therefore generally supposed that "first" in the Folios is a misprint for "Ides." It is more probably a slip of the poet's, traceable to a passage in the life of Brutus in which we read that Cassius asked Brutus "if he were determined to be in the Senate House the first day of the month of March, because he heard say that Cæsar's friends should move the Council that day, that Cæsar should be called king by the Senate." Shakespeare, reading this passage, naturally supposed that it referred to the day of the assassination, on which the Senate had resolved to give a crown to Cæsar (II. ii. 93). He thus from his original got two dates mixed up in his mind, and in the hurry of writing for the stage may have overlooked the inconsistency.

Bru. The exhalations whizzing in the air
Give so much light that I may read by them. 45
[*Opens the letter.*
Brutus, thou sleep'st: awake, and see thyself.
Shall Rome, etc. Speak, strike, redress!
"Brutus, thou sleep'st: awake!"
Such instigations have been often dropp'd
Where I have took them up. 50
"Shall Rome, etc." Thus must I piece it out:
Shall Rome stand under one man's awe? What, Rome?
My ancestors did from the streets of Rome
The Tarquin drive, when he was call'd a king.
"Speak, strike, redress!" Am I entreated 55
To speak and strike? O Rome! I make thee promise;
If the redress will follow, thou receiv'st
Thy full petition at the hand of Brutus!

52. *What, Rome?*] *What Rome?* Ff. 53. *ancestors*] Ff, *ancestor* Dyce. 56. *thee*] F 1, 4; *the* F 2, 3.

44. *exhalations*] meteors. See note on I. iii. 10.

48.] This is not the end of the letter, but the beginning repeated as a subject for reflection.

51. *piece it out*] fill up the gap. Brutus by the uncertain light of the meteors reads only the beginning and end of the letter, and conjectures the rest to be of a tenor similar to the instigations that have been dropt in his way before.

52. *stand under one man's awe*] be cowed by one man. For the possessive used as an objective genitive, compare *Richard II.* I. i. 128: "my sceptre's awe."

52. *What*] expresses surprise and indignation that Rome should be so servile and submissive.

53. *My ancestors*] The plural may be justified on the supposition that several members of the Brutus family took part in the expulsion of the Tarquins. Brutus was a plebeian, and not descended from the patrician family to which the old Brutus belonged. The common name, however, naturally made people believe that the later was descended from the earlier Brutus, and expect that he would emulate the glory of his supposed ancestor. To give credit to this belief, a third son was invented for the old Brutus in addition to the two sons whom he executed in their youth.

Re-enter LUCIUS.

Luc. Sir, March is wasted fifteen days.

[*Knocking within.*

Bru. 'Tis good. Go to the gate: somebody knocks. 60

[*Exit Lucius.*

Since Cassius first did whet me against Cæsar,
I have not slept.
Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream: 65
The genius and the mortal instruments

59. *fifteen*] Ff, *fourteen* Theobald and later editors.

59. *wasted*] here merely expresses the lapse of time, as perhaps in *Othello*, I. iii. 84: "Till now some nine moons wasted."

59. *fifteen*] As this was the morning of the fifteenth of March, strictly speaking only a little more than fourteen days of the month had run. Therefore most editors alter "fifteen" into "fourteen." The change is, however, not warranted. Shakespeare merely made Lucius reckon inclusively, as many people still do and as the Romans themselves did in reckoning time, *e.g.*, in the Roman Calendar the thirteenth of March was called the third day before the Ides, although according to our reckoning it is only two days before the Ides or fifteenth of March. Compare Matthew xxvii. 63, and *Iliad*, ix. 363 as interpreted by Socrates at the beginning of the *Crito*.

63. *Between the acting, etc.*] Addison reproduces the sense of these lines in his *Cato*, I. iii.:

"O think what anxious moments pass between
The birth of plots and their last fatal periods.
Oh! 'tis a dreadful interval of time,
Fill'd up with horror all and big with death."

65. *phantasma*] an apparition, something horrible and unreal. The Greek termination shows that the word was not perfectly naturalised in Shakespeare's time. Elsewhere Shakespeare uses the Anglicised form "phantasm."

66. *genius and the mortal instruments*] the spirit or mind, and the "corporal agents" (*Macbeth*, I. vii. 80) by which it carries out its purposes. The key to this difficult passage may be found in lines 175, 176, IV. i. 33, and in *Othello*, I. iii. 271, where Othello speaks of his "speculative and active instruments," meaning respectively his organs of thought and action. "Genius" here corresponds to "speculative instruments" there, and the "mortal instruments" of this passage are the "active instruments" spoken of in that passage, which are here distinguished from the genius or mind by their mortality and as being the instruments employed by the mind. The epithet "mortal" shows that

Are then in council; and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.

Re-enter LUCIUS.

Luc. Sir, 'tis your brother Cassius at the door, 70
Who doth desire to see you.

Bru. Is he alone?

Luc. No, sir, there are moe with him.

Bru. Do you know them?

Luc. No, sir; their hats are pluck'd about their ears,
And half their faces buried in their cloaks,

67. *of man,*] F 2, 3, 4; *of a man,* F 1. 74. *cloaks*] *cloakes* F 1; *cloathes* F 2; *cloaths* F 3, 4.

Shakespeare here follows the doctrine of Aristotle, who denied the immortality of all but the rational soul. The general meaning of the passage is that the mind takes counsel with the active organs by help of which the deed is to be accomplished. It is no doubt strange to make the bodily organs deliberate, but they are represented as doing so again in *Coriolanus*, I. i. 105. For "genius" in the sense of "mind" or "spirit" Craik quotes *The Comedy of Errors*, V. i. 332:

"One of these men is genius to the other;
And so of these: which is the natural man
And which the spirit?"

68. *Like to a little kingdom*] The comparison between the mind of man and a political state is elaborately worked out in Plato's *Republic*.

69. *insurrection*] So in *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 355, Leontes contemplating the murder of Polixenes is described as being "in rebellion with himself." For the civil conflict in the soul of Brutus, see I. ii. 39. A similar war of contending feelings is described in *Macbeth*, in *Othello*, in the *Medea* of Euripides, and in the *Choëphoræ* of Æschylus as preceding the execution of dreadful deeds. Macbeth in describing his state of mind (I. iii. 137) says:

"My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
Shakes so my single state of man, that function
Is smothered in surmise,"

which supports the omission of "a" before "man" in the later Folios.

70. *brother*] for "brother-in-law." Cassius married Junia, the sister of Brutus.

73. *their hats*] Ancient Romans of high rank generally went about bareheaded, but they would naturally cover their heads at this early hour of the morning. Suetonius mentions that Nero used a cap as a disguise, when he went incognito through the streets. The ancient Greeks and Romans also sometimes wore a felt hat (*petasus*), the brim of which could be pulled down over the ears.

74. *cloaks*] The Romans were in the habit of covering their heads with a portion of their togas. This, how-

That by no means I may discover them 75
By any mark of favour.

Bru. Let 'em enter. [*Exit Lucius.*

They are the faction. O conspiracy!
Sham'st thou to show thy dangerous brow by night,
When evils are most free? O! then by day
Where wilt thou find a cavern dark enough 80
To mask thy monstrous visage? Seek none, conspiracy;
Hide it in smiles and affability:
For if thou path, thy native semblance on,

83. *path, thy*] F 2; *path thy* F 1, 3, 4; *hath thy* Q (1691); *march, thy* Pope; *put thy* Dyce; *hadst thy* Grant White; *pace, thy* Anon.

ever, could not well be done over a brimmed hat. We must therefore suppose that the conspirators with their togas covered the lower part of their faces.

75. *discover*] identify.

76. *favour*] See note on I. ii. 90.

79. *most free*] least subject to restriction. Compare the Gospel of John iii. 19.

82. *smiles and affability*] Compare Lady Macbeth's exhortation to her husband:

"Bear welcome in your eye,
Your hand, your tongue: look like the innocent flower,
But be the serpent under it."

83. *if thou path, thy native semblance on*] if thou goest about undisguised, in thy true colours. Many nouns are used as verbs by Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers, most of them as transitive verbs, but "bench" is intransitive in *Lear*, III. vi. 40, and "fault" in the Preface to North's *Plutarch*: "Cannot fault twice." The conditional sentence is irregular, as the verb in the antecedent clause is in the present subjunctive, while the verb in the consequent is in the past tense. The irregularity is no doubt due to the wish to avoid such an ugly word as "pathed" or "pathedst." Although Steevens quotes examples of "path" used as a verb by Drayton, *e.g.* in his *Polyolbion*: "Where from the neighbouring hills her passage Wey doth path," and "unpath'd waters" occurs in *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 578, the commentators are not satisfied with the word. Coleridge proposed to read "put," which is pronounced to be "certainly" right by Walker, and is adopted by Dyce. Grant White suggests "hadst," which is supported by "hath," the reading of the Quarto of 1691. The reading "hadst" would remove the irregularity in the construction of the sentence, as also would "passed," if we may venture to suggest another emendation, slightly altering the reading "pass" suggested by the author of the *Footsteps of Shakespeare*.

83. *thy native semblance on*] Compare *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. i. 51: "Every officer his wedding garment on."

Not Erebus itself were dim enough
To hide thee from prevention. 85

Enter the Conspirators, CASSIUS, CASCA, DECIUS, CINNA, METELLUS CIMBER, *and* TREBONIUS.

Cas. I think we are too bold upon your rest:
Good morrow, Brutus; do we trouble you?
Bru. I have been up this hour, awake all night.
Know I these men that come along with you?
Cas. Yes, every man of them; and no man here 90
But honours you; and every one doth wish
You had but that opinion of yourself
Which every noble Roman bears of you.
This is Trebonius.
Bru. He is welcome hither.
Cas. This, Decius Brutus.
Bru. He is welcome too. 95
Cas. This, Casca; this, Cinna; and this, Metellus Cimber.
Bru. They are all welcome.
What watchful cares do interpose themselves
Betwixt your eyes and night?
Cas. Shall I entreat a word? 100
[*Brutus and Cassius whisper.*
Dec. Here lies the east: doth not the day break here?

86. *are too bold upon your rest*] take an undue liberty in thus disturbing your rest.

92. *that opinion*] Cassius in *Plutarch* says to Brutus, "Be thou well assured that at thy hands they specially require as a debt due to them, the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake, so that thou wilt show thyself to be the man thou art taken for and that they hope thou art."

98. *watchful cares*] Compare 117 and I. ii. 9.

101. *Here lies the east*] This discussion as to the exact spot at which the sun will rise fills up the time during which Brutus and Cassius

Casca. No.

Cin. O! pardon, sir, it doth; and yon grey lines
That fret the clouds are messengers of day.

Casca. You shall confess that you are both deceiv'd. 105
Here, as I point my sword, the sun arises,
Which is a great way growing on the south,
Weighing the youthful season of the year.
Some two months hence up higher toward the north

are whispering. Such a discussion at such a time is very natural. Experience shows that men are inclined at a great crisis to relieve their high-wrought feelings by talking of the weather or such indifferent matters.

101. *doth not the day break here*] Compare Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, Part I. III. i.:

"Is not yon gleam the shuddering morn that flakes
With silver tincture the east verge of heaven?"

102. *No*] Notice the characteristically curt negative of the blunt Casca.

104. *fret*] There are two verbs spelt "fret" in English, which are apt to be confused as they are identical in form; but one is derived from the old French *freter*, to interlace; and the other from the A.S. *fretan*, to eat. The former verb applied to architecture expresses the ornamentation of lines crossing each other at right angles, and may be used in a wider sense to express ornamental work that variegates cloth, so that the metaphor in the line before us may be regarded as comparing the clouds to a richly embroidered canopy. Compare the use of "lace" in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 7:

"what envious streaks
Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east";

in which passage the word "severing" suggests also the other meaning of "fret." The light of morning in both passages seems to be regarded as not only ornamenting, but also as gnawing its way through, breaking through the clouds. See Ruskin's letter recorded in the *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 11th Oct. 1878.

106. *Here, as*] in this direction towards which. Compare the old meaning of "whereas" = "in which place."

107. *growing on the south*] Here "grow" expresses approach or proximity, not to a condition, but to a place, as in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. ii. 10: "Read the names of the actors and so grow to a point," and *Timon*, II. ii. 227:

"And nature, as it grows again towards earth,
Is fashion'd for the journey, dull and heavy."

The sun rises due east at the vernal equinox on 21st March. On the 15th it rises only a little to the south of due east. We must therefore understand "a great way" with reference not to due east, but to the point to the north of east, at which the sun rises two months after the 15th March.

108. *Weighing*](participle absolute), when one takes into consideration. The sun rises more to the south in spring than in summer.

He first presents his fire; and the high east 110
Stands, as the Capitol, directly here.

Bru. Give me your hands all over, one by one.

Cas. And let us swear our resolution.

Bru. No, not an oath: if not the face of men,
The sufferance of our souls, the time's abuse— 115
If these be motives weak, break off betimes,
And every man hence to his idle bed;
So let high-sighted tyranny range on,
Till each man drop by lottery. But if these,
As I am sure they do, bear fire enough 120
To kindle cowards and to steel with valour
The melting spirits of women, then, countrymen,
What need we any spur but our own cause
To prick us to redress? what other bond

114. *if not the face*] Ff, *if that the face* Theobald, *if that the fate* Warburton, *if not the faith* Mason. 115. *abuse—*] *abuse;* Ff.

110. *the high east*] the full or perfect east. High is used in this sense in "high time," "high day," and "high noon." As Wright remarks, the Tower of London, the English counterpart of the Capitol, was due east of the old Globe Theatre.

111. *directly here*] As he says these words, Casca points his sword in a different direction, due east.

114. *No, not an oath*] Plutarch relates that the conspirators took no oaths, but does not say that Brutus dissuaded them from doing so. Cf. Sophocles, *Œd. Col.* 650.

114. *the face of men*] their reproachful looks. Steevens quotes from Cicero, "Nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt?"

115. *time's abuse—*] Compare I. iii. 64. The negative conditional clause is here broken off, and the meaning is continued in an affirmative conditional clause. To avoid this natural change of construction, Theobald and Warburton change "not" into "that."

117. *idle bed*] See 98 and I. i. 4, and compare "naked bed," "sick bed."

118. *high-sighted tyranny range on*] The metaphor compares tyranny to a hawk ranging through the fields of upper air, and looking down for prey from his "watch-tower in the skies." Compare I. i. 78 and III. i. 270.

119. *by lottery*] when his turn comes. Brutus supposes that Cæsar will renew the proscriptions, and that all the Roman nobles will be put to death one after another, whenever they happen to offend the monarch or become objects of suspicion to him.

123. *What*] why? Compare the Latin *quid.*

124. *prick*] spur, as in the first line of the *Faerie Queene.* Compare *Macbeth, I.* vii. 26.

Than secret Romans, that have spoke the word 125
And will not palter? and what other oath
Than honesty to honesty engag'd,
That this shall be, or we will fall for it?
Swear priests and cowards and men cautelous,
Old feeble carrions and such suffering souls 130
That welcome wrongs; unto bad causes swear
Such creatures as men doubt; but do not stain
The even virtue of our enterprise,
Nor the insuppressive mettle of our spirits,
To think that or our cause or our performance 135
Did need an oath; when every drop of blood

125. *that have spoke the word*] Compare the description of a trustworthy man as one whose "word is his bond." As "that have spoke the word" is equivalent to the participle "having spoken the word," the construction may be regarded as a variation of the participial construction. "Secret Romans that have spoke the word"=the fact that secret Romans have spoken the word. Since a word or the speaking of a word is not the same as a bond or written document, we have here a confusion of thought like that in the next question. The sentence goes on as if Brutus had said, "What other pledge" instead of "What other bond." Compare notes on line 127 and III. i. 47.

127. *honesty to honesty engaged*] pledge of honour given by one honourable man to another. As an instance of the Latin participial construction, this may be compared to I. i. 77. As such a pledge of honour is not an oath, we may compare *P. L.* ii. 678, 335, and 336:

"What peace can we return,
But to our power hostility and hate."

129. *Swear*] may be either the second person imperative of a transitive verb, or the third person plural of an intransitive verb. There is the same room for doubt with regard to "fall not a tear" in *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. xi. 69.

129. *cautelous*] crafty, deceitful. Compare "cautelous baits," *Coriolanus*, IV. i. 33.

130. *carrions*] used contemptuously of men as in *Henry V.* IV. ii. 39: "Yon island carrions."

130, 131. *such . . . That*] See note on I. ii. 33.

130. *suffering*] submissive, patient.

133. *even*] constant, uniform, steadfast. We may say of Brutus, as Lady Macbeth said of her husband, that what he would highly, that he would holily.

134. *insuppressive*] indomitable. Many adjectives ending in "ive" and other terminations, which we should only use in an active sense, have a passive sense in Shakespeare. Abbott, sec. 3, quotes "plausive," "uncomprehensive," "respective," and "unexpressive." Compare *Lycidas*, 176.

136. *Did need*] The past tense may be explained on the ground that some time has elapsed since Cassius expressed his opinion that an oath was necessary. There is, however, a

That every Roman bears, and nobly bears,
Is guilty of a several bastardy,
If he do break the smallest particle
Of any promise that hath pass'd from him. 140

Cas. But what of Cicero? Shall we sound him?
I think he will stand very strong with us.

Casca. Let us not leave him out.

Cin. No, by no means.

Met. O! let us have him, for his silver hairs
Will purchase us a good opinion 145
And buy men's voices to commend our deeds:
It shall be said his judgment rul'd our hands;
Our youths and wildness shall no whit appear,
But all be buried in his gravity.

Bru. O! name him not; let us not break with him; 150

tendency in the English language to use the past tense to express what is not actual, as "It would be a good thing, if he came"; "It is necessary that he should come."

137. *nobly bears*] is ennobled by bearing. Compare *Henry VIII.* IV. i. 90:

"The rod and bird of peace and all such emblems
Laid nobly on her."

138. *several*] redundant after the distributive "every."

139. *smallest particle*] This is in accordance with the Stoic doctrine that the smallest is as bad as the greatest transgression of a moral law.

144. *silver hairs*] Cicero was only sixty-two years old in B.C. 44, but men aged more rapidly in ancient Rome and in Elizabethan England than they do now.

145. *purchase*] and "buy" in the next line show that, though "silver" is here used to express colour, the poet is also thinking of silver as a precious metal, and makes Metellus Cimber commit the fallacy of ambiguous middle. Compare the similar confusion of thought in *Maud*, lines 11, 12:

"And out he walk'd when the wind like a broken worldling wail'd,
And the flying gold of the ruin'd woodlands drove through the air";

and *Macbeth*, I. vii. 32: "I have bought golden opinions."

145. *a good opinion*] This was the motive which induced Cassius to make such great efforts to enlist Brutus in the conspiracy.

147. *shall*] See note on III. i. 212.

148. *Our youths*] The plural of the abstract term is here used because the youth of many men is spoken of.

150. *break with him*] communicate the plot to him. Compare *1 Henry IV.* III. i. 144: "Break with your wives of your departure hence."

For he will never follow any thing
That other men begin.

Cas. Then leave him out.

Casca. Indeed he is not fit.

Dec. Shall no man else be touch'd but only Cæsar?

Cas. Decius, well urg'd. I think it is not meet, 155
Mark Antony, so well belov'd of Cæsar,
Should outlive Cæsar: we shall find of him
A shrewd contriver; and, you know, his means,
If he improve them, may well stretch so far
As to annoy us all; which to prevent, 160
Let Antony and Cæsar fall together.

Bru. Our course will seem too bloody, Caius Cassius,
To cut the head off and then hack the limbs,
Like wrath in death and envy afterwards;

151.] Plutarch says that Cicero was not invited to join the conspiracy, because his old age and timidity would make him shrink from bold and rapid action. This is perhaps implied in Brutus's rejection of Cicero. As a consular, Cicero was offered the command of the army at Pharsalia after Pompey's flight. He could hardly take a subordinate position, even if his vanity would have allowed him to do so, and by his old age and timidity he was ill fitted to be the leader of a desperate conspiracy.

153. *he is not fit*] Contrast 143. This is such an extraordinarily sudden change of opinion on Casca's part, that Hanmer assigns the remark to Decius. A similar inconsistency has been already noted in the second scene of the first act between Casca's excessive deference to Cæsar, when Cæsar is present, and the contemptuous way in which he speaks of Cæsar behind his back.

156. *of*] expresses agency in Shakespeare, especially after negative participles as "unwhipt of justice," *Lear*, III. ii. 53.

158. *shrewd contriver*] mischievous plotter. Compare Bacon's remark that "an ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden," and *As You Like It*, I. i. 151, "a secret and villanous contriver."

159. *improve them*] turn them to account, take full advantage of. I. Schmidt compares:

"How doth the little busy bee
Improve each shining hour."

160. *annoy*] injure, as in I. iii. 22. Compare the use of the noun in *Richard III.* V. iii. 156: "the boar's annoy." This stronger sense is found in *P. L.* vi. 369:

"Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The Atheist crew."

164. *Like wrath in death*] it would then seem that the killing of Cæsar was prompted by personal anger, and

For Antony is but a limb of Cæsar. 165
Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Caius.
We all stand up against the spirit of Cæsar;
And in the spirit of men there is no blood:
O! that we then could come by Cæsar's spirit,
And not dismember Cæsar. But, alas! 170
Cæsar must bleed for it. And, gentle friends,
Let's kill him boldly, but not wrathfully;
Let's carve him as a dish fit for the gods,
Not hew him as a carcass fit for hounds:
And let our hearts, as subtle masters do, 175
Stir up their servants to an act of rage,
And after seem to chide 'em. This shall make

that even after his death the conspirators hated Cæsar. "Envy" is used in the sense of the Latin *invidia*, hatred.

166.] Compare *Othello*, V. ii. 63:

"O perjured woman! thou dost stone my heart,
And mak'st me call what I intend to do
A murder which I thought a sacrifice."

Othello, like Brutus, killed one whom he loved, and was actuated to do the deed by general principles of right. Both of them hated the sin, while they loved the sinner, and both wished to preserve the calm feelings of sacrificing priests instead of acting like murderers actuated by hate and anger.

173. *carve*] Mr. Justice Madden in his *Diary of Master William Silence* finds in this passage an allusion to the practice of hunters, with whom it was an article of faith that "the carcase of the hart should not be thrown rudely to the hounds as the fox, the marten, or the gray, but should be reverently disposed of." The ceremonious cutting up of the deer here expressed by the verb "carve," as opposed to "hew," was called in the language of the chase the breaking up or brittling of the deer. Compare the extract from Scott given in the note on III. i. 206. In the end Brutus' idea of killing Cæsar reverently and with dignified composure was not realised. See V. i. 40–44. Plutarch says that Cæsar "was hackled and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters."

176. *their servants*] See note on 66.

177. *seem to chide*] Thus Shakespeare makes King John chide Hubert for the supposed murder of Arthur, although he had himself incited Hubert to commit the murder. Compare also the conduct of Bolingbroke in the last scene of *Richard II.*, and in history Elizabeth's exhibition of grief and indignation after the death of Mary, Queen of Scots. See Appendix.

177. *this shall make*] if we act thus, we shall do the deed not in a spirit of personal hatred, but animated by the deliberate conviction that it is necessary. Craik, following Collier's MS. annotator, reads "mark." But

Our purpose necessary and not envious;
Which so appearing to the common eyes,
We shall be call'd purgers, not murderers. 180
And for Mark Antony, think not of him;
For he can do no more than Cæsar's arm
When Cæsar's head is off.

Cas. Yet I fear him;
For in the ingrafted love he bears to Cæsar—

Bru. Alas! good Cassius, do not think of him: 185
If he love Cæsar, all that he can do
Is to himself, take thought and die for Cæsar:
And that were much he should; for he is given
To sports, to wildness, and much company.

Treb. There is no fear in him; let him not die; 190
For he will live, and laugh at this hereafter.

[*Clock strikes.*

Bru. Peace! count the clock.

Cas. The clock hath stricken three.

"make" is preferable, for here Brutus is trying to inspire his associates with the highest motives. It is only incidentally in lines 179, 180 that he thinks of the construction that will be put on their action by the world.

184. *ingrafted*] deep-rooted in his soul. Cassius is probably going to point out that Antony's love for Cæsar will be a sufficient stimulus to rouse him to energetic action, but Brutus will not let him finish his sentence.

187. *thought*] as opposed to effective action. Steevens compares *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. xiii. 1, where after Actium Enobarbus tells Cleopatra that there is nothing else to do but "think and die," as he does in IV. vi.

188. *were much he should*] would be much for him to do, *i.e.* is more than can be naturally expected of him.

190. *There is no fear in him*] Trebonius was a friend of Antony's. He therefore wishes to save his life, and is employed to keep him out of the way at the time of the assassination.

191. *laugh at this hereafter*] Compare V. i. 118 and *Richard III.* III. ii. 57: "But I shall laugh at this a twelvemonth hence." The prophecy of Trebonius is fulfilled, but not in the way that he intended. No doubt Antonius afterwards laughed at the folly of the conspirators in sparing him, who was destined to be Cæsar's avenger.

192. *The clock hath stricken three*] The Romans had dials and water-clocks, but no clocks that struck the

Treb. 'Tis time to part.

Cas. But it is doubtful yet
Whether Cæsar will come forth to-day or no;
For he is superstitious grown of late, 195
Quite from the main opinion he held once
Of fantasy, of dreams, and ceremonies.
It may be, these apparent prodigies,
The unaccustom'd terror of this night,
And the persuasion of his augurers, 200
May hold him from the Capitol to-day.

Dec. Never fear that: if he be so resolv'd,
I can o'ersway him; for he loves to hear
That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,

hours. Shakespeare commits a further anachronism in the measurement of time. The Romans counted their hours from sunrise to sunset, each twelfth part of the interval being an hour. Therefore, as the dawn was hardly discernible in line 101, at this point, according to the Roman reckoning, the first hour can hardly have begun. It would appear from line 221 that the sun has not yet risen. Shakespeare evidently means three o'clock in the morning according to our reckoning.

196. *Quite from*] in a way entirely opposed to what was formerly his general opinion on these subjects. For this use of "main" compare *Henry VIII.* IV. i. 31:

"By the main assent
Of all these learned men she was divorced."

196. *held once*] For Cæsar's superstition, see I. ii. 6–9.

197. *fantasy*] imagination producing prophetic spectres in the brain. See note on line 231.

197. *ceremonies*] See note on ii. 13.

198. *apparent*] From V. i. 78, it would appear that "apparent" here has its later meaning "seeming," as opposed to real. We may suppose that in I. iii. 69–71 Cassius pretended a belief in the prodigies to suit his purpose.

199. *unaccustom'd*] hypallage for "unusual." The word is used thrice in this sense in *Romeo and Juliet*. Compare "unacquainted change," *King John*, III. iv. 166, and "unexempt condition" (condition from which no one is exempt), *Comus*, 685.

202. *Never*] is here merely a strong negative and has no temporal sense. Compare the use of *numquam* with *hodie* in Virgil, *Æneid*, ii. 670, and *Eclogue*, iii. 49, and the Vicar of Wakefield's "Never falter, man," addressed to Mr. Burchell.

204. *with trees*] Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*, II. v. 10, describes how a unicorn, charging a lion standing in front of a tree, misses the lion, which slips aside, and fixes its horn so firmly in the tree that it is at the mercy of its enemies.

And bears with glasses, elephants with holes, 205
Lions with toils, and men with flatterers;
But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
He says he does, being then most flattered.
Let me work;
For I can give his humour the true bent, 210
And I will bring him to the Capitol.

Cas. Nay, we will all of us be there to fetch him.

Bru. By the eighth hour: is that the uttermost?

Cin. Be that the uttermost, and fail not then.

Met. Caius Ligarius doth bear Cæsar hard, 215
Who rated him for speaking well of Pompey:
I wonder none of you have thought of him.

Bru. Now, good Metellus, go along by him:
He loves me well, and I have given him reasons;
Send him but hither, and I 'll fashion him. 220

Cas. The morning comes upon 's: we 'll leave you, Brutus.
And, friends, disperse yourselves; but all remember

215. *hard*] F 1; *hatred* F 2, 3, 4.

205. *with glasses*] Shakespeare may have derived his information from a passage in Maplet's *Green Forest*, published in 1567, which is quoted by Beeching: "And the same (Pliny) saith also that there is another way that some huntsmen beguile her (the tiger) with, as to bestrew and spread in the way glass, by the which she coming and espying her own shadow represented, weeneth through such sight that these were of her young." Shakespeare perhaps remembered the passage imperfectly and thought that it referred to bears.

205. *holes*] concealed pits into which they fall. Somerville in the third book of his *Chase* describes how elephants are captured by pitfalls, and how mirrors are used in hunting tigers or leopards.

209. *work*] work him, exert my influence on him.

210. *true bent*] the proper direction.

213. *eighth hour*] See note on 192.

215. *bear Cæsar hard*] See note on I. ii. 318.

216. *rated him*] According to Plutarch, Ligarius was accused of taking part with Pompey and discharged by Cæsar. This, however, did not prevent him from hating Cæsar on account of the tyrannical power that he exercised.

218. *by him*] past his house, so that you may visit him on the way.

220. *fashion*] = "work" in I. ii. 161. Compare 209.

What you have said, and show yourselves true
Romans.

Bru. Good gentlemen, look fresh and merrily;
Let not our looks put on our purposes, 225
But bear it as our Roman actors do,
With untir'd spirits and formal constancy:
And so good morrow to you every one.
[*Exeunt all but Brutus.*
Boy! Lucius! Fast asleep? It is no matter;
Enjoy the honey-heavy dew of slumber: 230
Thou hast no figures nor no fantasies

230. *honey-heavy dew*] *hony-heavy-Dew* Ff, *heavy honey-dew* Collier.

224. *fresh and merrily*] freshly and merrily. So in the *Merchant of Venice*, II. i. 46, "blest or cursed'st" =most blest or most cursed. For the way in which prefixes and suffixes can be understood from one word and attached to another, see note on i. 1. 26.

225. *Let not, etc.*] let our looks conceal our purposes and not reveal them by their external appearance.

226. *Roman actors*] Compare Massinger's *Roman Actor* and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Double Marriage*, Act I. ii., where the heroine says:

"Father, this is a glorious stage of murder!
Here are fine properties too, and such spectators
As will expect good action! To the life
Let us perform our parts."

227. *formal constancy*] dignity and firmness. Compare 299 and III. i. 22.

230. *honey-heavy dew*] Sleep is often compared to dew on account of the softness of its falling on the eyes. Compare *Æneid*, v. 854, *Richard III.* IV. i. 84, "golden dew of sleep," *P. L.* iv. 614, "the timely dew of sleep," and Keble's evening hymn, "the soft dews of kindly sleep." The epithet "honey-heavy" adds the idea of soundness and sweetness. Perhaps also soporific power may have been attributed to honey on the strength of *Æneid*, vi. 420. It is possible that Shakespeare may have intended "honey-heavy dew" to be equivalent to "honey dew," the name of the sweet moisture that is found on the leaves of plants in the early morning. It is really secreted from the plants, but was supposed to be a kind of dew. Honey-dew is mentioned in Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* and in *Titus Andronicus*, III. i. 111:

"Then fresh tears
Stood on her cheeks, as doth the honey-dew
Upon a gathered lily almost withered."

With the compound "honey-heavy" compare "thought-sick," *Hamlet*, III. iv. 51, "fancy-free," *M. N. D.* II. i. 164, and other compounds given in Abbott, sec. 430.

231. *Thou hast, etc.*] Compare the contrast drawn by Henry IV. between himself and the wet sea-boy in *2 Henry IV.* II. i.

231. *figures*] spectres produced by

Which busy care draws in the brains of men;
Therefore thou sleep'st so sound.

Enter PORTIA.

Por. Brutus, my lord!

Bru. Portia, what mean you? Wherefore rise you now?
It is not for your health thus to commit 235
Your weak condition to the raw cold morning.

Por. Nor for yours neither. You've ungently, Brutus,
Stole from my bed; and yesternight at supper
You suddenly arose, and walk'd about,
Musing and sighing, with your arms across, 240
And when I ask'd you what the matter was,
You star'd upon me with ungentle looks.
I urg'd you further; then you scratch'd your head,
And too impatiently stamp'd with your foot;
Yet I insisted, yet you answer'd not, 245
But with an angry wafture of your hand,

246. *wafture*] Rowe, *wafter* Ff.

the imagination, as in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. ii. 231: "If it be but to scrape the figures out of your husband's brain." The verb "figure" means "imagine" in *Measure for Measure*, I. ii. 53: "Thou art always figuring diseases in me." Macbeth's visionary dagger, Clarence's dream, and the spectres that Shakespeare represents as appearing to Richard III. before his last battle, are instances of figures drawn in the brains of men by care.

231. *nor no*] For the double negative in this line and in 237, see Abbott, sec. 406.

233. *Brutus, my lord!*] The dialogue between Brutus and Portia is closely imitated in the opening scene of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Double Marriage*.

234. *Portia*] is correctly spelt Porcia in North's *Plutarch*. The spelling in the text is, however, probably Shakespeare's spelling, as the name is so spelt in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 166, where Portia, the heroine of that play, is declared to be "nothing undervalued to Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia."

240. *your arms across*] For this attitude of melancholy musing, compare *Lucrece*, 793, *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 135, *Tempest*, I. ii. 224, and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, II. i.:

"If it be love
To sit cross-armed and sigh away the day."

246. *wafture*] act of waving. Compare the use of the verb in the Folio of *Hamlet*, I. iv. 61: "It wafts you to a more removed ground"—*i.e.* it beckons you with a wave of the hand.

Gave sign for me to leave you. So I did,
Fearing to strengthen that impatience
Which seem'd too much enkindled, and withal
Hoping it was but an effect of humour, 250
Which sometime hath his hour with every man.
It will not let you eat, nor talk, nor sleep,
And could it work so much upon your shape
As it hath much prevail'd on your condition,
I should not know you, Brutus. Dear my lord, 255
Make me acquainted with your cause of grief.

Bru. I am not well in health, and that is all.

Por. Brutus is wise, and, were he not in health,
He would embrace the means to come by it.

Bru. Why, so I do. Good Portia, go to bed. 260

Por. Is Brutus sick, and is it physical
To walk unbraced and suck up the humours

251. *his*] See note on I. ii. 123.

252. *It*] refers to "impatience" in 248.

254. *condition*] state of mind. Compare Desdemona's remarks on the change in her husband:

"My lord is not my lord; nor should I know him,
Were he in favour as in humour altered" (*Othello*, III. iv. 125).

For the meaning of "condition" compare "the condition of a saint" (*Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 143). In 236, "condition" meant "state of bodily health." Here it expresses "state of mind."

255. *Dear my lord*] See Abbott, sec. 13.

257. *that is all*] Here the virtue of Brutus does not prevent him from telling a lie, as Portia proves by her reply, in which is implied an ordinary syllogism followed by a conjunctive syllogism of the *modus tollens*.

259. *come by it*] obtain health.

261. *sick*] This wider use of "sick" survives in Ireland, America, and India, and in such expressions as "sick bed," "sick nurse."

261. *physical*] good for the health, as in *Coriolanus*, I. v. 19.

262. *unbraced*] Here, as in I. ii. 266, iii. 48, Shakespeare gives his Romans the Elizabethan doublet. Compare *Hamlet*, II. i. 78: "Lord Hamlet with his doublet all unbraced." The doublet could be loosened or tightened, when the wearer wished to be warmer or colder, by means of laces. Murray quotes from Palsgrave (1530), "I will lace my doublet for taking of cold." The Romans wore nothing closely corresponding to the doublet. Under the toga they wore a tunic, which was like a shirt; but the Roman tunic does not appear to have been capable of being tightened or loosened by means of laces or buttons.

Of the dank morning? What! is Brutus sick,
And will he steal out of his wholesome bed
To dare the vile contagion of the night, 265
And tempt the rheumy and unpurged air
To add unto his sickness? No, my Brutus;
You have some sick offence within your mind,
Which, by the right and virtue of my place,
I ought to know of; and, upon my knees, 270
I charm you, by my once-commended beauty,
By all your vows of love, and that great vow
Which did incorporate and make us one,
That you unfold to me, your self, your half,
Why you are heavy, and what men to-night 275
Have had resort to you; for here have been
Some six or seven, who did hide their faces
Even from darkness.

Bru. Kneel not, gentle Portia.

Por. I should not need, if you were gentle Brutus.
Within the bond of marriage, tell me, Brutus, 280
Is it excepted I should know no secrets

263. *dank*] F 1; *dark* F 2, 3, 4. 271. *charm*] Ff, *charge* Pope. 279. *gentle Brutus*] Ff, *gentle, Brutus* Staunton.

266. *rheumy*] apt to cause rheum (a mucous discharge from lungs and nostrils).

268. *You have, etc.*] the illness with which you are troubled is mental. Compare "sterile curse," I. ii. 9, and the use of "offend" in *Othello*, III. iv. 52: "I have a salt and sorry rheum offends me."

271. *charm*] adjure, solemnly charge. As the verb "conjure" means both "enchant" and "adjure," Shakespeare takes the liberty of making "charm," which is equivalent only to the former meaning, express also the latter meaning of "conjure." Murray quotes for this use of the word, Moufet's *Silkworms*, 1599:

"She Pyram drench'd and then thus charms,
'Speak, love, O speak, how happened this to thee?'"

273. *incorporate*] Compare Matt. xix. 5: "And they twain shall be one flesh."

274. *half*] Compare the now colloquial "better half," which occurs in Sidney's *Arcadia*.

275. *heavy*] depressed with sadness. Compare "heavy-sad," *Richard II.* II. ii. 30.

That appertain to you? Am I yourself
But, as it were, in sort or limitation,
To keep with you at meals, comfort your bed,
And talk to you sometimes? Dwell I but in the suburbs 285
Of your good pleasure? If it be no more,
Portia is Brutus' harlot, not his wife.

Bru. You are my true and honourable wife,
As dear to me as are the ruddy drops
That visit my sad heart. 290

Por. If this were true, then should I know this secret.
I grant I am a woman, but withal
A woman that Lord Brutus took to wife;
I grant I am a woman; but withal
A woman well reputed, Cato's daughter. 295
Think you I am no stronger than my sex,
Being so father'd and so husbanded?
Tell me your counsels, I will not disclose 'em.
I have made strong proof of my constancy,
Giving myself a voluntary wound 300
Here, in the thigh: can I bear that with patience,
And not my husband's secrets?

295. *reputed,*] *reputed:* Ff, *reputed* Warburton.

282. *yourself*] another way of saying that husband and wife are one. See 273.

283. *in sort or limitation*] in a particular way, or not entirely according to the full meaning of the words. Possibly the true reading may be "sort of limitation."

285. *suburbs*] an allusion to the fact that women of bad character lived in the suburbs of London.

286. *good pleasure*] affection.

289. *ruddy drops*] Gray is indebted to this passage for a well-known line in his *Bard:* "Dear as the ruddy drops that warm my heart."

297. *father'd . . . husbanded*] Compare the use of "woman'd" in *Othello*, III. iv. 200, and for other instances of passive participles formed from nouns, see Abbott, sec. 294.

299. *made strong proof*] proved my firmness by the severest test.

299. *constancy*] See 227.

Bru. O ye gods!
Render me worthy of this noble wife.
[*Knocking within.*
Hark, hark! one knocks. Portia, go in awhile;
And by and by thy bosom shall partake 305
The secrets of my heart.
All my engagements I will construe to thee,
All the charáctery of my sad brows.
Leave me with haste. [*Exit Portia.*
Lucius, who's that knocks?

Re-enter LUCIUS *with* LIGARIUS.

Luc. Here is a sick man that would speak with you. 310
Bru. Caius Ligarius, that Metellus spake of.
Boy, stand aside. Caius Ligarius! how?

305. *thy*] The change to the singular pronoun indicates how deeply his heart is moved by the revelation of his wife's devotion. We are not told when the promise now made was fulfilled. At the end of the scene Brutus goes out with Ligarius, apparently to the Capitol, so that he has no opportunity of speaking again to his wife before Cæsar's death. Nevertheless, in Scene iv. Portia evidently knows the object of the conspiracy.

307. *construe*] goes so much better with "charactery," that its government of "engagements" may be regarded as an instance of zeugma. The peculiarity of the instance is that the verb suits the more distant object and suggests another verb, "tell," to go with the nearer one. It is, however, to be expected that a poet who composed rapidly, and whose mind was so crowded with thoughts, should often think in advance of what he was actually writing. Compare II. i. 8.

308. *charáctery of my sad brows*] His sad brows are regarded as symbols which have to be construed or interpreted by revealing the thoughts which they express. For charactery as a collective term for symbols compare *Merry Wives*, v. v. 77: "Fairies use flowers for their charactery." For the idea I. Schmidt compares *Macbeth*, I. v. 63:

"Your face, my thane, is as a book, where men
May read strange matters."

Compare also *Lucrece*, 807:

"The light will show character'd in my brow
The story of sweet chastity's decay."

309. *knocks*] has for subject the relative pronoun understood. Compare I. iii. 138.

311. *Caius*] is given by Plutarch as the prænomen of this conspirator, although his real prænomen was Quintus. Plutarch represents Cæsar as visiting him in his sickroom.

312. *how?*] an expression of surprise at seeing how ill he looked. As

Lig. Vouchsafe good morrow from a feeble tongue.
Bru. O! what a time have you chose out, brave Caius,
To wear a kerchief! Would you were not sick! 315
Lig. I am not sick if Brutus have in hand
Any exploit worthy the name of honour.
Bru. Such an exploit have I in hand, Ligarius,
Had you a healthful ear to hear of it.
Lig. By all the gods that Romans bow before, 320
I here discard my sickness. Soul of Rome!
Brave son, deriv'd from honourable loins!
Thou, like an exorcist, hast conjur'd up
My mortified spirit. Now bid me run,
And I will strive with things impossible; 325

313, 316, 320, 328, 331. Lig.] Cai. Ff.

Brutus had sent for him (line 220), he could not be surprised to see him.

313. *Vouchsafe*] which generally means "deign to grant," here means "deign to receive." Compare *King John*, III. i. 294: "Our prayers come in, if thou vouchsafe them."

315. *wear a kerchief*] be ill. Compare such expressions as "trail a pike" (= be a soldier) in *Henry V.* IV. i. 40. Fuller relates that in Cheshire "if any there be sick, they make him a posset and tie him a kerchief on his head." "Kerchief" has always in Shakespeare the meaning of the French word *couvrechef* (covering for the head), from which it is derived.

316. *I am not sick*] Here and in the answer of Brutus we have the subjunctive mood in the conditional clause, and the indicative in the principal clause. The irregularity must be explained differently in the two cases. In the first case the principal clause is a true consequent. Ligarius means that he is to all intents and purposes not sick, that he can act with the vigour of a healthy man, if Brutus has any honourable deed for him to do. But by a change of thought he uses the subjunctive in the conditional clause to indicate that he can hardly venture to hope that Brutus has such a deed for him to do. We may therefore compare with this the conditional sentence in III. ii. 87. In the reply of Brutus, on the contrary, the principal clause is not a true consequent. The true consequent is not that Brutus has such an exploit in hand, for that is absolutely true, but that Ligarius might take part in the exploit. We may therefore compare with this sentence, iv. 28, 29, Virgil's "*Numeros memini, si verba tenerem*" and *2 Henry IV.* v. ii. 66:

"I am assured, if I be measured rightly,
Your majesty hath no just cause to hate me";

where the true consequent is "your majesty would see that your majesty has no just cause to hate me." See also ii. 92.

324. *mortified*] dead. Ligarius thinks that the words of Brutus are

Yea, get the better of them. What 's to do?

Bru. A piece of work that will make sick men whole.

Lig. But are not some whole that we must make sick?

Bru. That must we also. What it is, my Caius,
I shall unfold to thee, as we are going 330
To whom it must be done.

Lig. Set on your foot,
And with a heart new-fir'd I follow you,
To do I know not what; but it sufficeth
That Brutus leads me on.

Bru. Follow me then. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*The Same. Cæsar's House.*

Thunder and lightning. Enter CÆSAR, *in his night-gown.*

Cæs. Nor heaven nor earth have been at peace to-night:
Thrice hath Calpurnia in her sleep cried out,
"Help, ho! they murder Cæsar!" Who 's within?

330. *going*] Craik, *going*, Ff.

such as might "create a soul beneath the ribs of death."

326. *get the better of them*] achieve them.

327. *make sick men whole*] heal them.

328. *make sick*] a euphemism for "kill."

331. *To whom it must be done*] on the way to him against whom our action has to be directed. "To whom" is elliptical for "to him to whom." Compare *Æneid*, ii. 648, *ex quo* = "ex eo tempore in quo."

334. *Brutus leads me on.* This is another proof of the influence of the high character of Brutus.

Scene II.

night-gown] a loose undress gown worn, not in bed, but out of bed, as is evident from *Macbeth*, v. i. 5: "I have seen her rise from her bed, throw her night-gown upon her." The Elizabethan night-gown was rather a dressing-gown than a night-shirt, and might be of considerable value, like the "night-gown furred with lamb (lambskin) and faced with foynes (fur of the foin or beech-marten)," bequeathed by a London citizen in 1580.

3. *Help, ho*] Compare the ominous dreams of Andromache in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. iii.

Enter a Servant.

Serv. My lord!

Cæs. Go bid the priests do present sacrifice, 5
And bring me their opinions of success.

Serv. I will, my lord. [*Exit.*

Enter CALPURNIA.

Cal. What mean you, Cæsar? Think you to walk forth?
You shall not stir out of your house to-day.

Cæs. Cæsar shall forth: the things that threaten'd me 10
Ne'er look'd but on my back; when they shall see
The face of Cæsar, they are vanished.

Cal. Cæsar, I never stood on ceremonies,
Yet now they fright me. There is one within,
Besides the things that we have heard and seen, 15
Recounts most horrid sights seen by the watch.
A lioness hath whelped in the streets;

5. *do present sacrifice*] offer sacrifice immediately.

6. *their opinions of success*] whether they think the sacrifice favourable or not. In Shakespeare's time "success" was a neutral term meaning "result," so that Ascham in his *Schoolmaster* can speak of "good or ill success."

10. *shall forth*] See note on I. i. 1.

10. *me*] For the sudden change of person, compare IV. iii. 98.

12. *are vanished*] Compare I. iii. 156.

13. *stood on ceremonies*] attached much importance to ceremonies. Calpurnia is thinking of the ceremonies practised by the augurs and other soothsayers when they interpreted sacrifices and prodigies. Compare i. 197. Plutarch relates that "Calpurnia, until that time, was never given to any fear or superstition."

16. *Recounts*] The relative is understood. Compare I. iii. 138.

16. *horrid sights*] Compare *Georgics*, i. 465–488, where Virgil gives an account of the prodigies that occurred at the time of Cæsar's death; and *Hamlet*, I. i.:

"In the most high and palmy state of Rome,
A little ere the mighty Julius fell,
The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets:
As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,
Disasters in the sun."

16. *the watch*] the watchmen.

And graves have yawn'd and yielded up their dead;
Fierce fiery warriors fight upon the clouds
In ranks and squadrons and right form of war, 20
Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol;
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
Horses did neigh, and dying men did groan,
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.
O Cæsar! these things are beyond all use, 25
And I do fear them.

Cæs. What can be avoided
Whose end is purpos'd by the mighty gods?
Yet Cæsar shall go forth; for these predictions

19. *fight*] Ff; *fought* Grant White, Dyce; *did fight* Keightley. 22. *hurtled*] F 1; *hurried* F 2, 3, 4. 23. *did neigh*] F 2, 3, 4; *do neigh* F 1.

19. *fight upon the clouds*] Compare *Georgics*, i. 474, and *P. L.* ii. 533:

"As when to warn proud cities war appears
Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds";

which passage is based on the account given by Josephus of the signs that foretold the destruction of Jerusalem.

21. *drizzled*] used transitively. Red rain, such as lately (April 1901) fell in Italy and other parts of the Continent, is mentioned as ominous of bloodshed in the *Iliad*, XI. 53, XVI. 459, and in the *Ramayana*. The change in tense from "fight" to "drizzled" may be reasonably defended. Calpurnia as she spoke could still see, or seemed to see, the battle in the sky. The red rain falling on the Capitol, which could not be seen by her, must have been announced by a messenger, and might, for anything she knew, have ceased. The variation of tenses in the first Folio reading of line 23 may be corrected, as it is much harsher, and admits of no reasonable justification, and as the correction is supported by the later Folios.

22. *hurtled*] vividly expresses the shock of battle. The word is used with effect by Gray in his *Fatal Sisters:*

"Iron sleet of arrowy shower
Hurtles in the darken'd air."

24. *shriek and squeal*] Compare the quotation from *Hamlet* given above. "Squeal," which in the *Merchant of Venice* is used of the sound of the fife, expresses the shrill voice of ghosts. It corresponds to Horace's "triste et acutum" (*Sat.* I. viii. 41), and the Homeric τρίζειν applied to the ghosts, whose voices are compared in the *Odyssey* to the voices of bats.

25. *beyond all use*] entirely unusual, prodigious.

26. *What can be avoided*] Compare *Hamlet*, V. ii. 10:

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will."

28. *Yet*] in spite of the signs and wonders mentioned by Calpurnia.

28. *these predictions*] what is fore-

Are to the world in general as to Cæsar.

Cal. When beggars die, there are no comets seen; 30
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.

Cæs. Cowards die many times before their deaths;
The valiant never taste of death but once.
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear; 35
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come when it will come.

Re-enter Servant.

What say the augurers?

Serv. They would not have you to stir forth to-day.
Plucking the entrails of an offering forth,
They could not find a heart within the beast. 40

Cæs. The gods do this in shame of cowardice:
Cæsar should be a beast without a heart
If he should stay at home to-day for fear.
No, Cæsar shall not; danger knows full well
That Cæsar is more dangerous than he: 45

told by the prodigies. Cæsar does not see why the prodigies foreboded evil to him particularly.

31. *blaze forth*] express in signs of fire. Plutarch relates there was a "great comet which seven nights together was seen very bright after Cæsar's death."

32. *Cowards die many times*] because, as Isabella says in *Measure for Measure*, "The sense of death is most in apprehension," and cowards, as often as they fear death, feel the pangs of death. Plutarch says that "when some of Cæsar's friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, he would never consent to it, but said, it was better to die once, than always to be afraid of death." Malone quotes a letter of Essex in which he observes that "as he which dieth nobly doth live for ever, so he that doth live in fear doth die continually."

33. *taste of death*] Compare Matt. xvi. 28.

37. *Will come when it will come*] an expression of fatalism. Compare 26, 27.

45. *more dangerous than he*] a hyperbole the sense of which will

We are two lions litter'd in one day,
And I the elder and more terrible;
And Cæsar shall go forth.

Cal. Alas! my lord,
Your wisdom is consum'd in confidence.
Do not go forth to-day: call it my fear 50
That keeps you in the house, and not your own.
We'll send Mark Antony to the senate-house,
And he shall say you are not well to-day:
Let me, upon my knee, prevail in this.

Cæs. Mark Antony shall say I am not well; 55
And, for thy humour, I will stay at home.

Enter DECIUS.

Here's Decius Brutus, he shall tell them so.

Dec. Cæsar, all hail! Good morrow, worthy Cæsar:
I come to fetch you to the senate-house.

46. *are*] Capell; *heare* F 1, 2; *hear* F 3, 4; *were* Theobald.

not bear analysis. We may compare such expressions as "Hibernicis Hiberniores" and "plus sages que les sages."

46. *We are two lions*] This conjectural emendation gives good sense, but no explanation is suggested to explain how "are" came to be transformed into "heare," the reading of the first and second Folios. Is it not probable that the right reading may be "I and he are," pronounced "I 'nd he're"? The elisions would present no difficulty, except in so far as they give a rough beginning to the line. For the first we may compare *Macbeth*, III. vi. 14: "Was not this nobly done? Ay, and wisely too." For the second compare the common "we're" and *Macbeth*, I. v. 32: "The king comes here to-night. Thou'rt mad to say it," and III. ii. 221, where also we find two elisions together. We may well suppose that some copyist chose to alter "I and he" into "we," but did not draw his pen distinctly through the "he," which therefore remained in the printed text. Or possibly the imperfect correction was made by Shakespeare's own pen, in which case we should of course accept it. I. Schmidt retains the reading of the Folio, understanding "hear" to mean "hear of." It might also be suggested that "hear" is used here as in *P. L.* iii. 7, so that "We hear two lions" would mean "We are spoken of or called two lions." But it is highly improbable that Shakespeare should have anticipated Milton's bold Latinism, which does not seem to occur in any other passage of Elizabethan literature.

Cæs. And you are come in very happy time 60
To bear my greeting to the senators,
And tell them that I will not come to-day:
Cannot, is false, and that I dare not, falser;
I will not come to-day: tell them so, Decius.
Cal. Say he is sick.
Cæs. Shall Cæsar send a lie? 65
Have I in conquest stretch'd mine arm so far
To be afeard to tell greybeards the truth?
Decius, go tell them Cæsar will not come.
Dec. Most mighty Cæsar, let me know some cause,
Lest I be laugh'd at when I tell them so. 70
Cæs. The cause is in my will: I will not come;
That is enough to satisfy the senate:
But for your private satisfaction,
Because I love you, I will let you know:
Calpurnia here, my wife, stays me at home: 75
She dream'd to-night she saw my statue,
Which, like a fountain with an hundred spouts,
Did run pure blood; and many lusty Romans
Came smiling, and did bathe their hands in it.

76. *to-night*] Ff; *last night* Rowe, Pope; *statue,*] Ff; *statua*, Steevens, Dyce.

60. *in very happy time*] most opportunely. Compare *Othello*, III. i. 32.

76. *to-night*] here as in III. iii. 1 means the night just past. This is in accordance with the Jewish mode of reckoning the day from sunset to sunset. Compare Genesis i. 5 and *Merchant of Venice*, II. v. 18: "For I did dream of money-bags to-night," where this use of "to-night" is appropriately put in the mouth of a Jew. If Lucius reckoned thus, we have a further explanation of "fifteen" in i. 59.

76. *statue*] must here, as in III. ii. 195, be pronounced as a trisyllable. In *Richard III.* III. vii. 25 we find the trisyllabic plural: "But like dumb statues or breathing stones." Beaumont has the plural "statuas," adding the English suffix to the Latin form. In Bacon the plural takes the form of "statuæs." These forms, intermediate between the Latin and the final English form, are due to the fact that the word was not perfectly naturalised in the English language in Shakespeare's time.

And these does she apply for warnings and portents, 80
And evils imminent; and on her knee
Hath begg'd that I will stay at home to-day.

Dec. This dream is all amiss interpreted;
It was a vision fair and fortunate:
Your statue spouting blood in many pipes, 85
In which so many smiling Romans bath'd,
Signifies that from you great Rome shall suck
Reviving blood, and that great men shall press
For tinctures, stains, relics, and cognizance.
This by Calpurnia's dream is signified. 90

Cæs. And this way have you well expounded it.

81. *And*] Ff; *of* Capell, Warburton.

80, 81. *portents, And evils*] hendiadys for "portents of evils." Compare *P. L.* x. 346, "joy and tidings" = tidings of joy.

83. *all amiss*] Compare the double interpretation of the dream of Polycrates in Herodotus. Plutarch says that Calpurnia in her sleep "deemed that Cæsar was slain." He also tells us that, according to Livy, "the Senate having set upon the top of Cæsar's house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it."

89. *tinctures, etc.*] "There are two allusions; one to coats armorial, to which princes make additions, or give new *tinctures* and new marks of *cognizance;* the other to martyrs, whose relics are preserved with veneration. The Romans, says Decius, all come to you, as to a saint, for relics; as to a prince, for honours." So Johnson. Compare the expression "fountain of honour," commonly applied to the sovereign. Malone and Steevens suppose that the allusion in "tinctures and stains" is to the practice of dipping handkerchiefs in the blood of martyrs or other revered leaders when executed. Compare III. ii. 141. But this would imply that Cæsar's blood was shed and be in accordance with the interpretation of the dream which Decius is trying to prove wrong. Perhaps Decius by a kind of dramatic irony is represented as against his will speaking like a true prophet, although he began with the deliberate intention of making a false prophecy. Compare the story of Balaam in the Bible. In the line under consideration "cognizance" suggests the heraldic interpretation, "stains" and "relics" suggest the idea of preserving handkerchiefs red with blood and other relics of one slain, while "tinctures" will suit either interpretation about equally well. "Cognizance" can hardly bear the meaning of memento, which is given to the word in Schmidt's Shakespeare Lexicon.

Dec. I have, when you have heard what I can say:
And know it now: the senate have concluded
To give this day a crown to mighty Cæsar.
If you shall send them word you will not come, 95
Their minds may change. Besides, it were a mock
Apt to be render'd, for some one to say
"Break up the senate till another time,
When Cæsar's wife shall meet with better dreams."
If Cæsar hide himself, shall they not whisper 100
"Lo! Cæsar is afraid"?
Pardon me, Cæsar; for my dear dear love
To your proceeding bids me tell you this,
And reason to my love is liable.

Cæs. How foolish do your fears seem now, Calpurnia! 105
I am ashamed I did yield to them.
Give me my robe, for I will go:

92. *I have, etc.*] short for "I have expounded it well, and you will see that I have, when, etc." Compare i. 318, 319, and the lines of *2 Henry IV.* quoted in the note on line 316.

96, 97. *a mock Apt to be rendered*] a gibe that will readily suggest itself, and is likely to be uttered.

102. *dear*] means "deeply felt" as in "dear absence" (*Othello*, I. iii. 260). The repetition has the force of a superlative. Compare III. ii. 232, IV. iii. 231, and Nelson's reference to "dear dear Merton" in his diary, 13th September 1805.

103. *To your proceeding*] means "with reference to the course you are proposing to take," or perhaps "with reference to your proceeding to the Capitol," and goes with "tell you this." Compare *King John*, IV. ii. 132: "Now what says the world to your proceedings?" Wright takes "to your proceeding" with "love," which might be supported by reference to *King John*, V. ii. 11. In this case the meaning would be "the loving interest I take in your course of action." Craik understands "proceeding" to mean "advancement."

104. *reason, etc.*] my prudence is under the sway of my love, has to submit to my love. For this use of "liable," compare *King John*, II. i. 490: "Liable to our crown and dignity"; and for the meaning of the sentence, compare *Othello*, III. iii. 375–383, where Iago represents himself as lamenting that his love for Othello had led him to forget his wisdom and offend his master:

"I'll love no friend, sith love breeds such offence.
I should be wise; for honesty's a fool,
And loses that it works for."

Enter PUBLIUS, BRUTUS, LIGARIUS, METELLUS, CASCA, TREBONIUS, *and* CINNA.

And look where Publius is come to fetch me.

Pub. Good morrow, Cæsar.

Cæs. Welcome, Publius.
What! Brutus, are you stirr'd so early too? 110
Good morrow, Casca. Caius Ligarius,
Cæsar was ne'er so much your enemy
As that same ague which hath made you lean.
What is 't a clock?

Bru. Cæsar, 'tis strucken eight.

Cæs. I thank you for your pains and courtesy. 115

Enter ANTONY.

See! Antony, that revels long a-nights,
Is notwithstanding up. Good morrow, Antony.

Ant. So to most noble Cæsar.

Cæs. Bid them prepare within:
I am to blame to be thus waited for.

114. *a clock*] Ff, *o'clock* Theobald and later editors. 116. *a-nights*] Ff, *o' nights* Theobald and later editors. 119. *to blame*] F 3, 4; *too blame* F 1, 2.

108. *Publius*] See III. i. 92, IV. i. 4. The person meant is probably Publius Silicius, who, as Plutarch relates, wept when Brutus was summoned to appear before the judges. He was proscribed by the Triumvirs, and put to death.

113. *that same*] = Lat. *iste*, I. Schmidt.

114. *a clock*] is found in old writers as well as "o'clock," and there is no sufficient reason to alter the "a" into an "o," as is done by most editors. The "a" stands for the preposition "an" (on) or "of." Compare line 116, "a-nights." M. Beljame quotes from Swift's *Polite and Ingenious Conversation*, a play of words upon the expression "a clock," which implies that he regarded "a clock," and not "o'clock," as the proper spelling and pronunciation. "Pray, miss, what 's a clock." "Why, you must know; 'tis a thing like a bell, and you a fool that can't tell."

114. *strucken*] See note on i. 192.

116. *a-nights*] See I. ii. 190.

118. *So*] also. See Abbott, sec. 65.

119. *to blame*] Abbott, sec. 73, suggests that here and in other passages, where the Folio reads "too blame," "blame" is an adjective, and "too"

Now, Cinna; now, Metellus; what, Trebonius! 120
I have an hour's talk in store for you;
Remember that you call on me to-day:
Be near me, that I may remember you.

Treb. Cæsar, I will: and so near will I be,
That your best friends shall wish I had been further. 125

Cæs. Good friends, go in, and taste some wine with me;
And we, like friends, will straightway go together.

Bru. [*Aside.*] That every like is not the same, O Cæsar!
The heart of Brutus earns to think upon. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*The Same. A Street near the Capitol.*

Enter ARTEMIDORUS, *reading a paper.*

Cæsar, beware of Brutus; take heed of Cassius; come not near Casca; have an eye to

129. *earns*] Ff, *yearns* Capell and later editors.

means "excessively," as in *1 Henry IV.* III. i. 177: "In faith, my lord, you are too wilful-blame."

120. *Now, Cinna, etc.*] Cæsar recognises and with princely courtesy addresses by name each of his visitors.

125. *shall wish I had been further*] This is an instance of the double meaning called dramatic irony. Cæsar is intended to understand that his friends will be envious of the favour shown to Trebonius. But the words bear another meaning to the spectators, who know that Cæsar's best friends will have a stronger and more unselfish reason for wishing that Trebonius had not come so near. The remark is treated as an "aside" by most editors.

128. *That every like, etc.*] This is an "aside," though not marked as such in the Folio. Brutus means that his heart is grieved at the thought that all those who are like friends are very far from being the same as friends in reality. He thinks that "men should be what they seem" (*Othello*, III. iii. 128), and hates the dissimulation he has to practise.

129. *earns*] grieves. Compare *Henry V.* II. iii. 6: "Falstaff he is dead and we must earn therefore." In this sense it is generally spelt "earne" or "erne" in the Folios, which is unnecessarily altered into "yearn" by later editors. The word takes the form of "erne" in Chaucer.

Scene III.

Artemidorus is described by Plutarch as "a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against Cæsar."

Cinna; trust not Trebonius; mark well Metellus Cimber; Decius Brutus loves thee not; thou hast wronged Caius Ligarius. There is but one mind in all these men, and it is bent against Cæsar. If thou be'st not immortal, look about you: security gives way to conspiracy. The mighty gods defend thee! Thy lover,

ARTEMIDORUS.

Here will I stand till Cæsar pass along,
And as a suitor will I give him this.
My heart laments that virtue cannot live
Out of the teeth of emulation.
If thou read this, O Cæsar! thou may'st live;
If not, the Fates with traitors do contrive. [*Exit.*

SCENE IV.—*The Same. Another Part of the same Street, before the House of Brutus.*

Enter PORTIA *and* LUCIUS.

Por. I prithee, boy, run to the senate-house;
Stay not to answer me, but get thee gone.
Why dost thou stay?

7, 8. thou . . . you] This irregularity can hardly be explained.

8. security] here, as generally in Elizabethan writers, means not the absence of danger, but the absence of apprehension, which lays a man open to the attacks of conspirators. Compare *Macbeth*, III. v. 32:

"And you all know security
Is mortal's chiefest enemy";

and Massinger's *Very Woman*, i. 1: "To doubt is safer than to be secure."

8. gives way to] leaves the path open for.

9. lover] as in III. ii. 13, simply means "friend."

14. *Out of the teeth of emulation*] unassailed by envy. Spenser gives envy "cankred teeth" in *F. Q.* I. i. xxx.

16. *contrive*] plot. Compare i. 158.

Scene IV.

2. *thee*] All through this scene Portia is speaking to inferiors. She therefore addresses them in the singular, and is addressed by them in the plural. See note on I. i. 12.

3.] Steevens compares Catesby's

Luc. To know thy errand, madam.
Por. I would have had thee there, and here again,
Ere I can tell thee what thou should'st do there. 5
O constancy! be strong upon my side;
Set a huge mountain 'tween my heart and tongue;
I have a man's mind, but a woman's might.
How hard it is for women to keep counsel!
Art thou here yet?
Luc. Madam, what should I do? 10
Run to the Capitol, and nothing else?
And so return to you, and nothing else?
Por. Yes, bring me word, boy, if thy lord look well,
For he went sickly forth; and take good note
What Cæsar doth, what suitors press to him. 15
Hark, boy! what noise is that?
Luc. I hear none, madam.
Por. Prithee, listen well;
I heard a bustling rumour, like a fray,

18. *bustling*] Rowe and later editors, *bussling* Ff.

answer to a similar question put by Richard III.:—

"First, mighty liege, tell me your highness' pleasure,
What from your grace I shall deliver to him."

Compare also *Lear*, v. iii. 248.

6. *constancy*] See note on II. i. 299.

7. *Set a huge mountain*] It appears from this scene that Brutus has yielded to her prayer, and told her his secret, although we are not told when he did so.

18. *bustling rumour*] The spelling of the Folios is "bussling" rumour. In all subsequent editions it is assumed that the second "s" is a misprint for "t." As, however, "buzzing" is spelt "bussing" in *2 Henry IV.* III. i. 11 in the first and second Folios, it is at least equally possible that an "l" has been wrongly inserted in the word by the printers, as in IV. iii. 266, where the first and second Folios read "slumbler." Compare also "alablaster" for "alabaster," in *Othello*, v. ii. 5. "Bustling" rather expresses hurried movement than indistinct noise. "Buzzing" seems a more natural word to express the indistinct murmurs of a multitude, as in *M. of V.*, III. ii. 18, and Johnson's *Dictionary* (from "Hayward"): "Herewith arose a buzzing noise among them, as if it had been the rustling sound of the sea afar off." Nevertheless out of deference to the consensus of all previous editors, I have not ventured to alter the received text. Whether we read "buzzing

And the wind brings it from the Capitol.

Luc. Sooth, madam, I hear nothing. 20

Enter the Soothsayer.

Por. Come hither, fellow: which way hast thou been?

Sooth. At mine own house, good lady.

Por. What is 't a clock?

Sooth. About the ninth hour, lady.

Por. Is Cæsar yet gone to the Capitol?

Sooth. Madam, not yet: I go to take my stand, 25
To see him pass on to the Capitol.

Por. Thou hast some suit to Cæsar, hast thou not?

Sooth. That I have, lady, if it will please Cæsar
To be so good to Cæsar as to hear me:
I shall beseech him to befriend himself. 30

Por. Why, know'st thou any harm 's intended towards him?

Sooth. None that I know will be, much that I fear may chance.

23. *a clock*] Ff, *o'clock* Theobald and later editors. 28, 29. *lady, if . . . me:*] Ff, *lady. If . . . me,* Johnson and later editors.

rumour" or "bustling rumour," what Portia means to express is the noise of an excited multitude heard indistinctly in the distance as "the noise and rumour of the field," *King John*, v. iv. 45. In both passages the poet has chosen words the sound of which is echo to the sense.

20. *nothing*] there was really nothing to hear, as Cæsar had not yet gone to the Capitol.

23. *a clock*] See note on ii. 114.

28. *That I have*] Nevertheless in the next scene he makes no attempt to present or pretend to present a suit to Cæsar. It is Artemidorus who does so, in accordance with his resolve expressed in iii. 12. This gives some plausibility to Tyrwhitt's substitution of Artemidorus for the soothsayer in this scene. On the other hand, Artemidorus, who wished to warn Cæsar expressly against Brutus, would not be likely to reveal so plainly to the wife of Brutus his intention of warning Cæsar.

28–30.] Most editors alter the punctuation, so that there may be a true consequent to the conditional clause. The reading of the Folio may, however, be retained, as the irregularity it involves is common in Shakespeare (see note on i. 318, 319) and in ordinary conversation.

31. *harm's intended*] harm that is intended. Compare ii. 16.

Good morrow to you. Here the street is narrow:
The throng that follows Cæsar at the heels,
Of senators, of prætors, common suitors, 35
Will crowd a feeble man almost to death:
I 'll get me to a place more void, and there
Speak to great Cæsar as he comes along. [*Exit.*

Por. I must go in. Ay me! how weak a thing
The heart of woman is. O Brutus! 40
The heavens speed thee in thine enterprise.
[*Aside.*] Sure, the boy heard me. Brutus hath a suit
That Cæsar will not grant. [*Aside.*] O! I grow faint.
Run, Lucius, and commend me to my lord;
Say I am merry: come to me again, 45
And bring me word what he doth say to thee.

[*Exeunt severally.*

37. *more void*] less crowded.

42. *Sure, the boy heard me*] She fears that Lucius may have overheard her remark and guessed her secret, and therefore makes mention of Brutus's suit to Cæsar to explain her anxiety.

45. *Say I am merry*] She sends this message in order that her husband's mind may not be distracted by anxiety on her account. Similarly Mrs. D'Israeli, when her finger was crushed in the door of her carriage, bore the pain in silence, lest her husband should be disturbed in mind and speak less effectively in the House of Commons, to which they were driving.

ACT III

SCENE I.—*Rome. Before the Capitol; the Senate sitting above.*

A crowd of People; among them ARTEMIDORUS *and the Soothsayer. Flourish. Enter* CÆSAR, BRUTUS, CASSIUS, CASCA, DECIUS, METELLUS, TREBONIUS, CINNA, ANTONY, LEPIDUS, POPILIUS, PUBLIUS, *and Others.*

Cæs. [*To the Soothsayer.*] The ides of March are come.
Sooth. Ay, Cæsar; but not gone.
Art. Hail, Cæsar! Read this schedule.
Dec. Trebonius doth desire you to o'er-read,
At your best leisure, this his humble suit. 5
Art. O Cæsar! read mine first; for mine's a suit
That touches Cæsar nearer. Read it, great Cæsar.
Cæs. What touches us ourself, shall be last serv'd.
Art. Delay not, Cæsar; read it instantly.
Cæs. What! is the fellow mad?
Pub. Sirrah, give place. 10
Cas. What! urge you your petitions in the street?
Come to the Capitol.

1. *The ides of March*] a reference to the soothsayer's warning in I. ii. 18.

8. *ourself*] A king in Shakespeare speaking of himself in the plural number employs the singular "self" —*e.g.*, *Richard II.* I. iv. 42: "We will ourself in person to this war." But Tennyson in the *Princess* makes a king say, "We remember love ourselves in our sweet youth."

8. *serv'd*] attended to. As the verb "serve" in this sense properly governs persons, Craik adopts here the correction of Collier's MS.: "That touches us? Ourself shall be last served," which is supported by its similarity to *Timon*, I. ii. 183:

"*Flav.* Vouchsafe me a word; it doth concern you near.
Tim. Near? Why then another time I'll hear thee."

CÆSAR *goes up to the Senate-House, the rest following. All the Senators rise.*

Pop. I wish your enterprise to-day may thrive.
Cas. What enterprise, Popilius?
Pop. Fare you well.
[*Advances to Cæsar.*
Bru. What said Popilius Lena? 15
Cas. He wish'd to-day our enterprise might thrive.
I fear our purpose is discovered.
Bru. Look, how he makes to Cæsar: mark him.
Cas. Casca, be sudden, for we fear prevention.
Brutus, what shall be done? If this be known, 20
Cassius or Cæsar never shall turn back,
For I will slay myself.
Bru. Cassius, be constant:
Popilius Lena speaks not of our purposes;
For, look, he smiles, and Cæsar doth not change.
Cas. Trebonius knows his time; for, look you, Brutus, 25
He draws Mark Antony out of the way.
[*Exeunt Antony and Trebonius. Cæsar and the Senators take their seats.*
Dec. Where is Metellus Cimber? Let him go,
And presently prefer his suit to Cæsar.

20. *done? If . . . known,*] Ff, *done, if . . . known?* Theobald.

15. *Lena*] He is called Læna by Plutarch. His real name was Lænas.
18. *makes to*] goes towards. Compare v. i. 25 and the quotation from Tennyson on I. ii. 15.
21. *turn back*] return from the Capitol.
22. *constant*] See note on II. i. 227.
24. *doth not change*] *sc.* his countenance, *i.e.* he shows that he is not deeply affected by what he has just heard from Popilius Lena.
26. *He draws, etc.*] This is in accordance with Plutarch's *Life of Brutus.* In the *Life of Cæsar* it is Decius Brutus who keeps Antony out of the way.
28. *presently*] immediately.

Bru. He is address'd; press near and second him.
Cin. Casca, you are the first that rears your hand. 30
Cæs. Are we all ready? What is now amiss
That Cæsar and his senate must redress?
Met. Most high, most mighty, and most puissant Cæsar,
Metellus Cimber throws before thy seat
An humble heart,— [*Kneeling.*
Cæs. I must prevent thee, Cimber. 35
These couchings and these lowly courtesies,
Might fire the blood of ordinary men,
And turn pre-ordinance and first decree
Into the law of children. Be not fond,

39. *law*] Johnson, *lane* Ff, *play* Mason.

29. *address'd*] ready, prepared, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 82:

"And he and his competitors in oath
Were all address'd to meet you, gentle lady."

30. *rears*] We should expect "that rear your" or "that rears his." For the confusion of numbers and persons in relative clauses, compare *Titus Andronicus*, IV. ii. 176: "For it is you that puts us to our shifts," and other passages quoted by Abbott in sec. 247, which justify him in saying that "the relative was often regarded like a noun by nature third person singular, and therefore uninfluenced by the antecedent."

31. *Are we all ready?*] can we now proceed to business? Collier's MS. annotator gives this question to Casca, whom it apparently suits better. There is, however, dramatic irony in the remark if uttered by Cæsar, as the conspirators and the audience would apply his words to the preparations for his assassination.

34. *Metellus Cimber*] See note on I. iii. 134.

36. *couchings*] altered in Collier's MS. into "crouchings." The alteration seems unnecessary, as "couching" expresses the attitude of humble supplication as well as "crouching" does. Murray quotes from *Royster Doyster*, "Couch on your marrow-bones," and from *Campion*, "A lady of such part, that all estates of the realm couched unto her." Even if "couch" necessarily implied "lying on the ground," it would be no stronger than Homer's προπροκυλινδομενος (*Iliad*, xxii. 221).

38. *pre-ordinance*] and "first decree" are equivalent terms, expressing a decree already made. See line 44. This is, however, a curious use of "first." Craik plausibly suggests "fixed decree."

39. *the law of children*] such variable and capricious laws as children would make, or, perhaps, the variability which is the law of the nature of children, their natural characteristic. If the latter interpretation is right, there is a play on the two meanings of "law" and "ordinance," "ordinance" being used in line 38 in the sense of human law, while in line 39 "law" means "natural quality prescribed by the law of nature" as "ordinance" does in I.

To think that Cæsar bears such rebel blood 40
That will be thaw'd from the true quality
With that which melteth fools, I mean sweet words,
Low-crooked curt'sies, and base spaniel fawning.
Thy brother by decree is banished:
If thou dost bend and pray and fawn for him, 45
I spurn thee like a cur out of my way.
Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause
Will he be satisfied.

Met. Is there no voice more worthy than my own,
To sound more sweetly in great Cæsar's ear 50
For the repealing of my banish'd brother?

Bru. I kiss thy hand, but not in flattery, Cæsar;
Desiring thee that Publius Cimber may
Have an immediate freedom of repeal.

iii. 66. The reading of the Folio is unintelligible, unless it should be a reference to the old nursery rhyme of the "little boy who lives in the lane." Even Johnson's emendation, "law," does not give quite satisfactory sense. May not the right reading be "lune of children," *i.e.* caprice of children? The word "lune" is so used in *Winter's Tale*, II. ii. 30, and in modern French. See Littré's *French Dictionary*, where "caprice" is given as the equivalent of "lune" in one sense of the word. For the changeableness of children compare "varying childness" in *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 170, and the "moonish" inconstancy of most boys and women described by Rosalind in *As You Like It*, III. ii. 430–438. See also *post*, p. 179.

40. *rebel blood*] Compare II. i. 69.

41. *That*] See note on I. ii. 33.

43. *Low-crooked*] Compare "knee-crooking knave," *Othello*, I. i. 45.

43. *spaniel*] For Shakespeare's opinion of the spaniel, compare *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. ii. 203:

"I am your spaniel; and, Demetrius,
The more you beat me, I will fawn on you";

and the use of "spaniel" as a verb in Hanmer's emendation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xii. 21.

45. *If thou dost bend*] Compare I. iii. 104, 105.

47. *Cæsar doth not wrong*] See Appendix.

48. *Will he be satisfied*] See Appendix.

54. *repeal*] (*re*, back, and *appello*, call) recall. The verb is used in this sense in line 51, and in *Othello*, II. iii. 363. Freedom of repeal means restoration to the enjoyment of the civic rights lost by banishment. "Freedom" is here opposed to "banishment" as in *As You Like It*, I. iii. 140, *Richard II.* I. iii. 273, and *Lear*, I. i. 184. "Enfranchisement" in line 57 has the same meaning, so that "immediate freedom" here = "enfranchisement immediate" in *Richard II.* III. iii. 114.

Cæs. What, Brutus!

Cas. Pardon, Cæsar; Cæsar, pardon: 55
As low as to thy foot doth Cassius fall,
To beg enfranchisement for Publius Cimber.

Cæs. I could be well mov'd if I were as you;
If I could pray to move, prayers would move me;
But I am constant as the northern star, 60
Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament.
The skies are painted with unnumber'd sparks,
They are all fire and every one doth shine,
But there 's but one in all doth hold his place: 65
So in the world; 'tis furnish'd well with men,
And men are flesh and blood, and apprehensive;
Yet in the number I do know but one
That unassailable holds on his rank,
Unshak'd of motion: and that I am he, 70
Let me a little show it, even in this,
That I was constant Cimber should be banish'd,

61. *true-fix'd*] *true-fixt* Capell, *true fixt* Ff, *true, fixt* Rowe.

60. *the northern star*] the polar star, "the ever fixed pole" of *Othello*, II. i. 15.

61. *true-fix'd*], fixed so as to be constant, immovable. "True" is used in this sense in V. v. 35, in "well and truly laid," and in the proverbial comparison "true as the needle to the pole."

61. *resting quality*] immobility. Compare *Othello*, V. ii. 336, "You shall close prisoner rest," where "rest" has the meaning of the Latin *resto*, remain.

62. *no fellow*] no equal. Compare V. iii. 101, and Pym's historical saying, "Stone dead has no fellow."

67. *apprehensive*] intelligent, as in *2 Henry IV.* IV. iii. 107.

69. *holds on his rank*] keeps his position unaltered by any motion. Skeat compares the following lines in the "Parabolæ" of Alanus de Insulis:

"Ætherius motus movet omnia sidera, præter
Unum, sed semper permanet illud idem;
Sic constans et fidus homo sine fine tenebit
Hunc in more modum quem tenet ipse polus."

70. *he*] the person described in line 69.

72. *constant*] fixed in my resolve. See line 60.

And constant do remain to keep him so.

Cin. O Cæsar,—

Cæs. Hence! Wilt thou lift up Olympus?

Dec. Great Cæsar,—

Cæs. Doth not Brutus bootless kneel? 75

Casca. Speak, hands, for me! [*They stab Cæsar.*

Cæs. *Et tu, Brute!* Then fall, Cæsar! [*Dies.*

Cin. Liberty! Freedom! Tyranny is dead!
Run hence, proclaim, cry it about the streets.

Cas. Some to the common pulpits, and cry out 80
"Liberty, freedom, and enfranchisement!"

Bru. People and senators, be not affrighted;
Fly not; stand still; ambition's debt is paid.

Casca. Go to the pulpit, Brutus.

75. *Doth . . . kneel?*] F 1; *Do . . . kneel?* F 2, 3, 4; *Do . . . kneel.* Rowe.

75. *Doth not Brutus*] This is an *a fortiori* argument. As Brutus is pleading in vain, no one else can expect to move Cæsar. "Brutus" here means Marcus Brutus, even though Cæsar is addressing another Brutus. Rowe, following the later Folios, reads "do." But Decius Brutus is nowhere else in the play called simply Brutus. He is always distinguished as Decius or Decius Brutus even when the more famous Brutus is not present.

76. *Speak, hands*] Compare *Macbeth*, v. viii. 7.

76. stab Cæsar] contrary to the principle of the Greek drama expressed in the well-known line of Horace: *Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet.* In the Earl of Sterline's play the assassination of Cæsar is narrated by a messenger.

77. Et tu, Brute] This exclamation is given in the very words in which it is supposed to have been uttered. According to Suetonius, Cæsar's last words were *καὶ σύ, τέκνον,* which are in accordance with the popular belief that Cæsar had an intrigue with Servilia, the mother of Brutus; but Shakespeare does not care to refer to this scandal. In the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1587) we read, "And Brutus thou, my son, quoth I, whom erst I loved best," the first three words of which line are a word for word rendering of *Et tu, Brute.* The earliest extant work in which the exclamation appears in its Latin form is the *True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York,* published in 1595. It may have originated in a Latin drama (*Epilogus Cæsaris Interfecti*) composed by Richard Eedes on the death of Cæsar and represented at Oxford in 1582.

83. *ambition's debt is paid*] Ambitious Cæsar has paid the penalty of his ambition, and no one else need fear us.

84. *pulpit*] Latin *pulpitum,* a stage or platform from which to address an audience. Casca, who has up to this point played such a prominent part, takes no more part in the action of

Dec. And Cassius too.

Bru. Where 's Publius? 85

Cin. Here, quite confounded with this mutiny.

Met. Stand fast together, lest some friend of Cæsar's
Should chance—

Bru. Talk not of standing. Publius, good cheer;
There is no harm intended to your person, 90
Nor to no Roman else; so tell them, Publius.

Cas. And leave us, Publius; lest that the people,
Rushing on us, should do your age some mischief.

Bru. Do so; and let no man abide this deed
But we the doers. 95

Re-enter TREBONIUS.

Cas. Where 's Antony?

Tre. Fled to his house amaz'd.

the play. He speaks his last word in 101, 102, unless we follow the editors who assign these lines to Cassius.

85. *Publius*] See note on II. ii. 108.

86. *mutiny*] tumult.

89. *Talk not of standing*] Brutus scorns to stand on the defensive. See line 108.

91. *Nor to no Roman else*] For the double negative, see II. i. 231.

92. *lest that*] Before prepositions were changed into conjunctions, they performed the part of conjunctions by governing the pronoun "that" followed by a clause in apposition to "that." See Abbott, sec. 288. This conjunctional affix "that" is retained after prepositions used as conjunctions in Shakespeare, *e.g.*, "for that," "after that," and sometimes as here and in ii. 99 is added by false analogy to conjunctions that were never prepositions. The addition of "that" to "lest" is redundant, as "lest" is etymologically equivalent to "the less that."

93. *your age*] you an old man, as in *Much Ado About Nothing*, V. i. 56. The abstract is used for the concrete, as in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, line 14:

"The hawthorn bush, with seats beneath the shade,
For talking age and whispering lovers made."

94. *abide*] endure the consequences of, pay the penalty of. Compare ii. 122. "Aby" is also used in this sense in the Quarto of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 175, 335, where, however, the Folio reads "abide." The two words, though etymologically distinct, were confused.

95. *But we*] As "but" is a preposition here, grammar requires "but us." This irregularity is due to the confusion between "but" the preposition and "but" the conjunction, or to the analogy of nominative absolute construction with "except" and "save." See V. v. 69, and Abbott, sec. 118.

Men, wives and children stare, cry out and run
As it were doomsday.

Bru. Fates, we will know your pleasures.
That we shall die, we know; 'tis but the time
And drawing days out, that men stand upon. 100

Casca. Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life
Cuts off so many years of fearing death.

Bru. Grant that, and then is death a benefit:
So are we Cæsar's friends, that have abridg'd
His time of fearing death. Stoop, Romans, stoop, 105
And let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood

100. *stand upon*] attach importance to, as in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 118.

102. *so many years of fearing death*] These lines are by Dyce and other editors assigned to Cassius, in whose mouth they appear more appropriate. For the meaning compare *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 40:

"Yet in this life
Lie hid moe thousand deaths; yet death we fear
That makes these odds all even";

and the philosophical aphorism "Vita commentatio mortis," which Bacon criticises as implying an exaggerated fear of death. "Groans, convulsions, weeping friends, and the like show death terrible," he allows, "yet there is no passion so weak but conquers the fear of it. Revenge triumphs over death, love slights it, honour aspires to it, dread of shame prefers it, grief flies to it, and fear anticipates it."

104. *So are we Cæsar's friends*] This thought gives some satisfaction to the mind of Brutus. See the conclusion of the second scene of the second act.

106. *let us bathe our hands*] The carrying out of this proposal fulfils Calpurnia's dream. See II. ii. 79. Plutarch says that the conspirators went with bloody hands and naked swords to the Capitol, but does not describe them as deliberately washing their hands in their victim's blood. In the Earl of Sterline's account of Cæsar's assassination:

"That all might have like interest in his death
And by the same look for like praise or blame,
Then Cassius Brutus and the rest began
With that great emperor's blood to dye their hands."

The same motive may be supposed to actuate the conspirators in Shakespeare's play. By washing their hands in Cæsar's blood they all acknowledged in the most open manner their responsibility for the deed they had done. Thus the symbolical act expressed the same meaning as the words of Brutus in lines 94, 95. In like manner Pontius Pilate, when disclaiming all responsibility for the crucifixion, washed his hands in water. The action of washing their hands in their victim's blood also suggests the comparison between them and hunters, which is more fully worked out in lines 204–210.

Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords:
Then walk we forth, even to the market-place;
And, waving our red weapons o'er our heads,
Let's all cry "Peace, freedom, and liberty!" 110

Cas. Stoop then, and wash. How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over,
In states unborn and accents yet unknown!

Bru. How many times shall Cæsar bleed in sport,
That now on Pompey's basis lies along 115
No worthier than the dust!

Cas. So oft as that shall be,
So often shall the knot of us be call'd
The men that gave their country liberty.

Dec. What! shall we forth?

Cas. Ay, every man away:
Brutus shall lead; and we will grace his heels 120
With the most boldest and best hearts of Rome.

Enter a Servant.

Bru. Soft! who comes here? A friend of Antony's.

Serv. Thus, Brutus, did my master bid me kneel;
Thus did Mark Antony bid me fall down;

113. *states*] F 2, 3, 4; *state* F 1.

115. *lies*] F 2, 3, 4; *lye* F 1.

107. *Up to the elbows*] See quotation from Scott in the note on line 206 in the Appendix.

112.] Shakespeare puts into the mouths of Cassius and Brutus a prediction of the drama which he is composing. Compare *Iliad*, vi. 358, xxii. 305, and the concluding lines of the fourth act of Massinger's *Roman Actor:*

"Poets adorn his hearse
With their most ravishing sorrows, and the stage
For ever mourn him."

114. *in sport*] in dramatic representation, as opposed to "in earnest."

115. *Pompey's basis*] the pedestal of Pompey's statue.

117. *knot*] band of conspirators as in *Merry Wives*, IV. ii. 123: "There's a knot, a gang, a pack, a conspiracy against me."

121. *most boldest*] double superlative. Compare ii. 190, Acts xxvi. 5, Psalms xxi. 7, and *Medea*, 1323, μέγιστον ἐχθίστη.

123. *Thus*] See note on I. ii. 219.

And, being prostrate, thus he bade me say: 125
Brutus is noble, wise, valiant, and honest;
Cæsar was mighty, bold, royal, and loving:
Say I love Brutus, and I honour him;
Say I fear'd Cæsar, honour'd him, and lov'd him.
If Brutus will vouchsafe that Antony 130
May safely come to him, and be resolv'd
How Cæsar hath deserv'd to lie in death,
Mark Antony shall not love Cæsar dead
So well as Brutus living; but will follow
The fortunes and affairs of noble Brutus 135
Thorough the hazards of this untrod state,
With all true faith. So says my master Antony.

Bru. Thy master is a wise and valiant Roman;
I never thought him worse.
Tell him, so please him come unto this place, 140
He shall be satisfied; and, by my honour,
Depart untouch'd.

Serv. I 'll fetch him presently. [*Exit.*

Bru. I know that we shall have him well to friend.

Cas. I wish we may: but yet have I a mind
That fears him much; and my misgiving still 145
Falls shrewdly to the purpose.

128, 129. *Say*] Here the servant gives the actual words addressed to himself instead of the message he was to deliver to the conspirators. Compare *P. L.* iv. 724.

131. *be resolv'd*] have his doubts solved, be assured, as in ii. 186, and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, "I am resolved my Chloe yet is true."

136. *this untrod state*] this new state of affairs in which past experience gives no guidance. It therefore "craves wary walking."

139. *I never thought*] Here Brutus is not strictly truthful. Compare II. i. 189.

142. *presently*] See note on 28.

143. *to friend*] Compare II. i. 293, and *Richard II.* IV. i. 308: "I have a king here to my flatterer."

145. *my misgiving, etc.*] my doubts too often prove to be very near the mark.

Re-enter ANTONY.

Bru. But here comes Antony. Welcome, Mark Antony.
Ant. O mighty Cæsar! dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
Shrunk to this little measure? Fare thee well. 150
I know not, gentlemen, what you intend,
Who else must be let blood, who else is rank:
If I myself, there is no hour so fit
As Cæsar's death's hour, nor no instrument
Of half that worth as those your swords, made rich 155
With the most noble blood of all this world.
I do beseech ye, if you bear me hard,
Now, whilst your purpled hands do reek and smoke,
Fulfil your pleasure. Live a thousand years,
I shall not find myself so apt to die: 160

149, 150.] Compare *Cymbeline*, III. i. 49: "Cæsar's ambition
Which swelled so much, that it did almost stretch
The sides of the world";
and *1 Henry IV.* v. iv. 88: "Ill weav'd ambition, how much art thou shrunk?" All three passages may have been suggested by the reflection of a physician on the death of Alexander in the *Gesta Romanorum:* "Yesterday the whole world was not enough to satiate his ambition; to-day, three or four ells of cloth are more than sufficient."

152. *let blood*] is a euphemism for "killed," as in *Richard III.* III. i. 183. It here takes the construction of the transitive verb "bleed." Compare *Agamemnon*, 1287: Οὔ τοι δυσοίζω Θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ; and *2 Henry VI.* III. i. 233: "This Gloster should be quickly rid this world." See also p. 180, *post*.

152. *rank*] so overgrown that he requires to be "trashed for overtopping," *Tempest*, I. ii. 81. Compare I. iii. 77. The metaphor compares men swollen with ambition to excessively luxuriant vegetation that requires to be cut. Compare "He's a rank weed," *Henry VIII.* V. i. 52. "Rank" is frequently used by Shakespeare to express strong condemnation of all kinds of vicious excess.

157. *ye . . . you*] In old English "ye" was nominative and "you" objective. This distinction is kept up in the Bible, as in "I know you not, whence ye are." Shakespeare uses the two forms almost indiscriminately, and here exactly reverses the old distinction.

159. *Live*] live I, if I live. For the ellipse compare ii. 9, and *As You Like It*, II. iii. 35: "Yet this I will not do, do how I can."

160. *apt*] ready. Compare 1 Timothy, iii. 2: "Apt to teach."

No place will please me so, no mean of death,
As here by Cæsar, and by you cut off,
The choice and master spirits of this age.

Bru. O Antony! beg not your death of us.
Though now we must appear bloody and cruel, 165
As, by our hands and this our present act,
You see we do, yet see you but our hands
And this the bleeding business they have done:
Our hearts you see not; they are pitiful;
And pity to the general wrong of Rome— 170
As fire drives out fire, so pity pity—
Hath done this deed on Cæsar. For your part,
To you our swords have leaden points, Mark Antony:
Our arms, in strength of malice, and our hearts,

170. *Rome*—] *Rome*, Ff. 171. *so pity pity*—] *so pity, pity* Ff. 174. *in strength of malice*] Ff; *exempt from malice*, Pope; *no strength of malice;* Capell; *in strength of welcome*, Craik, Collier MS.; *in strength of amity*, Hudson, Singer.

162. *by*] is used in two different senses in this line. Cp. *Pickwick P.* xxxv, "Miss Bolo . . . went straight home in a flood of tears and a sedan chair."

162. *cut off*] For the construction, compare note on IV. iii. 151.

171. *fire drives out fire*] How this is done is described in the thirty-third chapter of Fenimore Cooper's *Prairie*. The same illustration occurs in *Coriolanus*, IV. vii. 54, and *Romeo and Juliet*, I. ii. 46: "One fire burns out another's burning," and two other passages.

171. *so pity pity*] so pity drives out pity. Pity for Rome drove pity for Cæsar out of their hearts. The generally accepted reading, which makes a parenthesis of this line, gives good sense and an unexceptionable construction. We cannot, however, well ignore the Folios, which, by their punctuation, evidently intend "pity," repeated for emphasis, to be the subject of "hath done" in the next line. If we accept their reading, then "pity" in line 170 is left without a verb, owing to a change of construction due to the parenthesis (compare notes on I. iii. 64 and II. i. 115), and one side of the comparison is not distinctly expressed, but implied in the principal clause, it being evident that pity for Rome could not do the deed without first driving pity for Cæsar out of their hearts. For the emphatic repetition of "pity," compare I. iii. 9, *Æneid*, ii. 602, and xii. 948:

"Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
Immolat."

172. See p. 180, *post*.

173. *leaden points*] Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 481: "There's an eye wounds like a leaden sword."

174. *Our arms, etc.*] our arms and

Of brothers' temper, do receive you in 175
With all kind love, good thoughts, and reverence.

Cas. Your voice shall be as strong as any man's
In the disposing of new dignities.

Bru. Only be patient till we have appeas'd
The multitude, beside themselves with fear, 180
And then we will deliver you the cause
Why I, that did love Cæsar when I struck him,
Have thus proceeded.

Ant. I doubt not of your wisdom.
Let each man render me his bloody hand:
First, Marcus Brutus, will I shake with you; 185
Next, Caius Cassius, do I take your hand;
Now, Decius Brutus, yours; now yours, Metellus;
Yours, Cinna; and, my valiant Casca, yours;
Though last, not least in love, yours, good Trebonius.
Gentlemen all,—alas! what shall I say? 190
My credit now stands on such slippery ground,

hearts of brothers' temper in strength of malice. Brutus means that towards him they had no more malice than brothers have towards one another. "Of brothers' temper" is an adjectival phrase qualifying "arms" and "hearts," and itself modified by the adverbial phrase "in strength of malice." The disorder in the arrangement of the sentence is probably due to "and our hearts" being added as an afterthought in the middle of the sentence. Compare "And my heart too" (IV. iii. 117). For "strength" expressing such a small amount of strength that it is equivalent to weakness, compare *Hecuba*, 227, where ἀλκὴ means powerlessness. Compare also *Cymbeline*, V. v. 419, where "malice" expresses "absence of malice":

"The power that I have on you is to spare you;
The malice towards you to forgive you: live."

Grant White, one of the few editors who retain the reading of the Folio, interprets the passage as meaning "our arms, even in the intensity of their hatred to Cæsar's tyranny, and our hearts, in their brotherly love to all Romans, do receive you in." Brinsley Nicholson, following Capell, maintains that "in" is a misprint for "no," making "strength" object of "have" in the preceding line.

178. *disposing of new dignities*] Compare ii. 50. This would be a more attractive prospect to such a man as Antony than was offered by Brutus's professions of brotherly kindness.

That one of two bad ways you must conceit me,
Either a coward or a flatterer.
That I did love thee, Cæsar, O! 'tis true:
If then thy spirit look upon us now, 195
Shall it not grieve thee dearer than thy death,
To see thy Antony making his peace,
Shaking the bloody fingers of thy foes,
Most noble! in the presence of thy corse?
Had I as many eyes as thou hast wounds, 200
Weeping as fast as they stream forth thy blood,
It would become me better than to close
In terms of friendship with thine enemies.
Pardon me, Julius! Here wast thou bay'd, brave hart;
Here didst thou fall; and here thy hunters stand, 205
Sign'd in thy spoil, and crimson'd in thy lethe.
O world! thou wast the forest to this hart;
And this, indeed, O world! the heart of thee.
How like a deer, strucken by many princes,
Dost thou here lie! 210

Cas. Mark Antony,—

Ant. Pardon me, Caius Cassius:

204. *hart*] F 1; *heart* F 2, 3, 4. 206. *lethe*] *Lethee* F 1; *Lethe* F 2, 3, 4; *death* Pope. 208. *heart*] Theobald, *hart* Ff.

196. *dearer*] more deeply. See note on II. ii. 102.

204. *bay'd*] brought to bay, as a hunted animal surrounded by baying hounds.

204. *hart*] To the end of the speech Antony plays on the similarity of sound between "heart" and "hart."

206. *Sign'd in thy spoil, etc.*] stained crimson in thy life-blood, the sign of their triumph. See Appendix.

207. *forest to this hart*] because the whole world seemed made for Cæsar, and he ranged proudly through it.

208. *heart of thee*] because Cæsar stood to the whole world in the relation borne by the heart to the body which is animated by it, and which follows its impulses.

211. *Pardon me*] Antony, supposing wrongly that Cassius is indignant at his words, excuses himself on the

The enemies of Cæsar shall say this;
Then, in a friend, it is cold modesty.

Cas. I blame you not for praising Cæsar so;
But what compact mean you to have with us? 215
Will you be prick'd in number of our friends,
Or shall we on, and not depend on you?

Ant. Therefore I took your hands, but was indeed
Sway'd from the point by looking down on Cæsar.
Friends am I with you all, and love you all, 220
Upon this hope, that you shall give me reasons
Why and wherein Cæsar was dangerous.

Bru. Or else were this a savage spectacle.
Our reasons are so full of good regard,
That were you, Antony, the son of Cæsar, 225
You shall be satisfied.

Ant. That's all I seek:
And am moreover suitor that I may
Produce his body to the market-place;
And in the pulpit, as becomes a friend,
Speak in the order of his funeral. 230

Bru. You shall, Mark Antony.

Cas. Brutus, a word with you.

ground that he had said no more than an enemy might have said, and that his words as uttered by a friend showed moderation verging on coldness.

212. *shall*] here, though in the third person, expresses simple futurity. Compare II. i. 147, 148, 177.

216. *prick'd*] marked by a puncture on a list and so distinguished from others. See IV. i. 1 and *2 Henry IV.* III. ii. 124. Johnson quotes from Bacon, "Some who are prick'd for sheriffs," and this use of the verb still survives.

224. *full of good regard*] worthy of approbation. Compare IV. ii. 12.

228. *Produce*] in the sense of the Latin *produco*, bring forward.

230. *in the order of his funeral*] in the course of the celebration of his funeral. A eulogy pronounced over the dead body was a regular part of the funeral of great men at Rome.

[*Aside to Brutus.*] You know not what you do; do not consent
That Antony speak in his funeral:
Know you how much the people may be mov'd
By that which he will utter?

Bru. By your pardon: 235
I will myself into the pulpit first,
And show the reason of our Cæsar's death:
What Antony shall speak, I will protest
He speaks by leave and by permission,
And that we are contented Cæsar shall 240
Have all true rites and lawful ceremonies.
It shall advantage more than do us wrong.

Cas. I know not what may fall; I like it not.

Bru. Mark Antony, here, take you Cæsar's body.
You shall not in your funeral speech blame us, 245
But speak all good you can devise of Cæsar,
And say you do't by our permission;
Else shall you not have any hand at all
About his funeral; and you shall speak
In the same pulpit whereto I am going, 250
After my speech is ended.

Ant. Be it so;
I do desire no more.

Bru. Prepare the body, then, and follow us.

[*Exeunt all but Antony.*

235. *pardon:*] Ff, *pardon,* Rowe.

237. *our Cæsar's death*] according to I. Schmidt means "our assassination of Cæsar." Rather by "our" Brutus claims to be as much a lover of Cæsar as Antony was. Compare ii. 203.

241. *true*] due, proper, as in II. i. 210, so that it is unnecessary to read "due" with Pope and Dyce.

242. *wrong*] here means harm, not injustice.

Ant. O! pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,
That I am meek and gentle with these butchers; 255
Thou art the ruins of the noblest man
That ever lived in the tide of times.
Woe to the hand that shed this costly blood!
Over thy wounds now do I prophesy,
Which like dumb mouths do ope their ruby lips, 260
To beg the voice and utterance of my tongue,
A curse shall light upon the limbs of men;
Domestic fury and fierce civil strife
Shall cumber all the parts of Italy;
Blood and destruction shall be so in use, 265
And dreadful objects so familiar,
That mothers shall but smile when they behold
Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war;
All pity chok'd with custom of fell deeds:

258. *hand*] Ff; *hands* Grant White, Dyce. 262. *limbs*] Ff; *kind* Hanmer; *line* Warburton; *loins* Craik, Collier MS.; *minds* Dyce.

254. *earth*] Compare *Iliad*, xxiv. 54, where dead Hector is called "dumb earth," with this line and the "dumb mouths" of line 260.

257. *tide of times*] Compare IV. iii. 217.

260. *like dumb mouths*] Malone compares *A Warning for Fair Women*, 1599:

"I gave him fifteen wounds,
Which now be fifteen mouths that do accuse me."

262. *A curse*] in the form of a plague. Plagues were commonly regarded as inflicted upon accursed men for the punishment of their wickedness. Compare I. i. 59. Hence plague and curse came to be regarded as equivalent terms. "A plague on both your houses" (*Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 111) = "Curse both your houses."

262. *limbs of men*] the bodies of men regarded as divided into different parts and so brought more vividly before our imagination. Compare II. i. 136. The language is as natural as *Æneid*, iii. 136, where a pestilence is described as attacking *limbs*, and no one ever thought of altering *membris*. Wright compares *Timon*, IV. i. 24.

264. *cumber*] distress, or, perhaps, overload with corpses. See line 275.

269. *pity chok'd*] nominative absolute. Compare Lamentations iv.

And Cæsar's spirit, ranging for revenge, 270
With Ate by his side come hot from hell,
Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
Cry "Havoc!" and let slip the dogs of war;
That this foul deed shall smell above the earth
With carrion men, groaning for burial. 275

Enter a Servant.

You serve Octavius Cæsar, do you not?

Serv. I do, Mark Antony.

Ant. Cæsar did write for him to come to Rome.

Serv. He did receive his letters, and is coming;
And bid me say to you by word of mouth— 280
O Cæsar!— [*Seeing the body.*

10, "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children."

271. *Ate*] the Greek goddess of mischief, who plays a prominent part in the Homeric poems. Here, as in Greek tragedy, Ate plays the same part as the Furies, who were represented in Greek mythology as living in the lower world (*Iliad*, ix. 571). "Hot" suggests the burning hell of the Bible. For a similar anachronism compare I. ii. 158.

272. *with a monarch's voice*] Compare *King John*, II. i. 357: "Cry 'Havoc,' kings." Only kings and generals were entitled to cry "Havoc."

273. *Havoc*] an old cry expressing the refusal of quarter. Among Henry V.'s Statutes and Ordinances to be kept in time of war it is enacted "that no man be so hardy to cry havoc, upon pain that he that is beginner shall be dead therefore, and the remnant that do the same or follow, shall lose their horse and harness." Compare *Coriolanus*, III. i. 275, *King John*, II. i. 357, and *Hamlet*, V. ii. 375.

273. *let slip*] allow to slip out of the leashes or slips. Compare *Henry V.* I. Prologue, 6, where Henry V. is represented as assuming the port of Mars:

"and, at his heels,
Leashed in like hounds, should
Famine, Sword, and Fire
Crouch for employment."

274. *shall smell, etc.*] may have an evil odour (*i.e.* infamous reputation) like that of the unburied corpses, with which it will be associated in the minds of men.

275. *groaning for burial*] Shakespeare was acquainted with the misery that unburied ghosts were supposed by the ancients to endure. Compare *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 87:

"Titus, unkind and careless of
thine own,
Why suffer'st thou thy sons, unburied yet,
To hover on the dreadful shore
of Styx?"

281. *O Cæsar*] He is overcome by emotion on suddenly seeing the body of Cæsar.

Ant. Thy heart is big, get thee apart and weep.
Passion, I see, is catching, for mine eyes,
Seeing those beads of sorrow stand in thine,
Began to water. Is thy master coming? 285
Serv. He lies to-night within seven leagues of Rome.
Ant. Post back with speed, and tell him what hath chanced:
Here is a mourning Rome, a dangerous Rome,
No Rome of safety for Octavius yet;
Hie hence and tell him so. Yet stay awhile; 290
Thou shalt not back till I have borne this corpse
Into the market-place; there shall I try,
In my oration, how the people take
The cruel issue of these bloody men;
According to the which thou shalt discourse 295
To young Octavius of the state of things.
Lend me your hand. [*Exeunt with Cæsar's body.*

SCENE II.—*The Forum.*

Enter BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS, *and a throng of Citizens.*

Citizens. We will be satisfied: let us be satisfied.
Bru. Then follow me, and give me audience, friends.

283. *catching, for*] F 2, 3, 4; *catching from* F 1. 285. *Began*] Ff; *Begin* Hanmer, Dyce.

282. *big*] swoln with deep feeling.
283. *Passion*] feeling, as in I. ii. 39.
285. *Began*] is condemned as a manifest error by Dyce, and altered into "Begin." The past is, however, quite justifiable, as Antony's eyes may be regarded as beginning to water when the servant exclaims "Cæsar." The use of the aorist referring to a past so near the present, that in English we should ordinarily use the present, is common in Greek tragedy, *e.g.* ἐπήνεσα, ἀπέπτυσα, μέτεγνων.
286. *lies*] passes the night.
289. *Rome of safety*] See note on I. ii. 154.
294. *issue of these bloody men*] result of their action.

Cassius, go you into the other street,
And part the numbers.
Those that will hear me speak, let 'em stay here; 5
Those that will follow Cassius, go with him;
And public reasons shall be rendered
Of Cæsar's death.

First Cit. I will hear Brutus speak.

Second Cit. I will hear Cassius; and compare their reasons,
When severally we hear them rendered. 10

[*Exit Cassius, with some of the Citizens. Brutus goes into the pulpit.*

Third Cit. The noble Brutus is ascended: silence!

Bru. Be patient till the last.
Romans, countrymen, and lovers! hear me for my cause, and be silent, that you may hear: believe me for mine honour, and have respect 15 to mine honour, that you may believe: censure

4. *part*] part we, let us divide the crowd.

7. *public reasons*] reasons based on public grounds, as opposed to "private griefs" (line 220).

9. *compare*] we will compare. Here the subject is understood from the following temporal clause, as it was understood from the following principal clause in i. 159.

13. *Romans, etc.*] Shakespeare in the composition of this speech evidently imitates "the brief compendious manner of speech of the Lacedæmonians," which Plutarch says that Brutus affected. In the extracts from Brutus's letters given in Plutarch's *Life of Brutus*, we see the same striving after brevity and logical precision as is noticeable in this speech. For instance, take the following sentence addressed by Brutus to the Pergamenians: "I understand you have given Dolabella money: if you have done it willingly, you confess you have offended me; if against your wills, shew it then by giving me willingly." The repetition of the word "offended," and the many conditional clauses, indicate that Shakespeare composed it with this letter of Brutus before him. Shakespeare's Brutus speaks in the same style in ordinary conversation, *e.g.*, I. ii. 165–167, II. i. 88.

13. *lovers*] See note on II. iii. 9.

16. *censure*] judge. "Censure" in Shakespeare's time was often used as a neutral word and did not express blame. Compare *2 Henry VI.* III. i. 275: "Say you consent and censure well (*i.e.* approve) the deed."

me in your wisdom, and awake your senses, that you may the better judge. If there be any in this assembly, any dear friend of Cæsar's, to him I say that Brutus' love to Cæsar was no less than his. If then that friend demand why Brutus rose against Cæsar, this is my answer: Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved Rome more. Had you rather Cæsar were living, and die all slaves, than that Cæsar were dead, to live all free men? As Cæsar loved me, I weep for him; as he was fortunate, I rejoice at it; as he was valiant, I honour him; but, as he was ambitious, I slew him. There is tears for his love; joy for his fortune; honour for his valour; and death for his ambition. Who is here so base, that would be a bondman? If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who is here so rude, that would not be a Roman? If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who is here so vile, that will not love his country?

20. *him*] F 1; *them* F 2, 3, 4.

17. *senses*] powers of understanding, as in *Pericles*, V. i. 124:

"I will believe thee
And make my senses credit thy relation."

23, 24. *loved Cæsar less*] Brutus means that it was not any deficiency in his love for Cæsar, but the excess of his love for Rome that made him rise against Cæsar. Craik takes "less" to mean "less than the dear friend of Cæsar," and "more" to mean "more than the dear friend of Cæsar."

27. *As Cæsar loved me*] Compare note on II. i. 166 and the following conclusion of one of Montaigne's Essays, which Shakespeare had probably read: "Quand Timoleon pleure le meurtre qu'il avoit commis d'une si meure et genereuse deliberation, il ne pleure pas la liberté rendue à sa patrie, il ne pleure pas la tyran; mais il pleure son frere. L'une partie de son debvoir est jouee; laissons luy en jouer l'aultre."

30. *is*] See note on I. iii. 138.

34. *speak*] let him speak.

35. *rude*]="brutish," line 112.

If any, speak; for him have I offended. I pause for a reply.

Citizens. None, Brutus, none. 40

Bru. Then none have I offended. I have done no more to Cæsar than you shall do to Brutus. The question of his death is enrolled in the Capitol; his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy, nor his offences enforced, for 45 which he suffered death.

Enter ANTONY *and Others, with Cæsar's body.*

Here comes his body, mourned by Mark Antony: who, though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the commonwealth; as which of you 50 shall not? With this I depart: that, as I slew my best lover for the good of Rome, I have the same dagger for myself, when it shall please my country to need my death.

Citizens. Live, Brutus! live! live! 55

First Cit. Bring him with triumph home unto his house.

Second Cit. Give him a statue with his ancestors.

Third Cit. Let him be Cæsar.

43. *question of his death*] the consideration of the justice of his death is recorded in the archives of the Capitol. Shakespeare seems here to indicate that the action of the conspirators had been discussed at a meeting of the Senate, and that the result of the debate had been inscribed in the public records. There was, however, hardly time for such a debate between i. 253 and ii. 1.

45. *enforced*] unduly urged.

50. *a place in the commonwealth*] In a letter extant in Cicero's correspondence, Brutus and Cassius wrote to Antony, "Nos in hac sententia sumus ut te cupiamus in libera re publica magnum et honestum esse."

58. *Let him be Cæsar*] The crowd is so utterly insensible to the motives that actuated Brutus, that they would reward him by exalting him to the height of power that in Cæsar's case he had condemned as criminal. It is a case of "Le roi est mort, vive le roi." The people must have an idol to bow down before, and for the moment pay Brutus the same deference that was formerly paid to Cæsar.

Fourth Cit. Cæsar's better parts
Shall be crown'd in Brutus.
First Cit. We'll bring him to his house with shouts and clamours. 60
Bru. My countrymen,—
Second Cit. Peace! silence! Brutus speaks.
First Cit. Peace, ho!
Bru. Good countrymen, let me depart alone,
And, for my sake, stay here with Antony.
Do grace to Cæsar's corpse, and grace his speech 65
Tending to Cæsar's glories, which Mark Antony,
By our permission, is allow'd to make.
I do entreat you, not a man depart,
Save I alone, till Antony have spoke. [*Exit.*
First Cit. Stay, ho! and let us hear Mark Antony. 70
Third Cit. Let him go up into the public chair;
We'll hear him. Noble Antony, go up.
Ant. For Brutus' sake, I am beholding to you.
Fourth Cit. What does he say of Brutus?
Third Cit. He says, for Brutus' sake
He finds himself beholding to us all. 75
Fourth Cit. 'Twere best he speak no harm of Brutus here.

59. *Shall be*] Ff; *Shall now be* Pope, Dyce. 61. *countrymen,—*] *country-men*—F 4; *country-men.* F 1, 2, 3. 73, 75. *beholding*] F 1, 2, 3; *beholden* F 4.

Compare the significant identity of language between line 61 and I. ii. 1.

59. *in Brutus*] in the person of Brutus.

69. *Save I*] I is here a nominative absolute, "save" being regarded not as an imperative, but as the equivalent of "saved" (excepted) or the French *sauf*. Compare V. v. 69.

71. *the public chair*] the pulpit of i. 236.

73. *For Brutus' sake*] not for the interest of Brutus, but "thanks to Brutus." For this use of "sake" compare Genesis iii. 17, Jonah i. 12, Colossians iii. 6, and *Othello*, I. iii. 195:

"For your sake, jewel,
I'm glad at soul I have no other child."

73. *beholding*] a corruption for "beholden" = indebted. He means that owing to the permission of Brutus he is able to take advantage of their kindness.

First Cit. This Cæsar was a tyrant.
Third Cit. Nay, that 's certain:
We are bless'd that Rome is rid of him.
Second Cit. Peace! let us hear what Antony can say.
Ant. You gentle Romans,—
Citizens. Peace, ho! let us hear him. 80
Ant. Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Cæsar. The noble Brutus 85
Hath told you Cæsar was ambitious;
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Cæsar answer'd it.
Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest,
(For Brutus is an honourable man, 90
So are they all, all honourable men)
Come I to speak in Cæsar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
But Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man. 95
He hath brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill:

78. *bless'd*] F 1; *glad* F 2, 3, 4. 80. *Romans,—*] *Romans—* F 4; *Romans.* F 1, 2, 3.

81. *Friends, Romans*] Compare *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 9: "Romans, friends, followers, favourers of my right."

87. *were*] The subjunction implies that Antony doubts the assertion. See note on II. i. 316.

88. *answer'd it*] paid the penalty. Compare *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 103:

"And do him right, that, answering one foul wrong,
Lives not to do another."

97. *general coffers*] Antony means that an ambitious man would have kept the money to himself, so that it might help him in his struggle for power.

Did this in Cæsar seem ambitious?
When that the poor have cried, Cæsar hath wept;
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff: 100
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse: was this ambition? 105
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And, sure, he is an honourable man.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
But here I am to speak what I do know.
You all did love him once, not without cause: 110
What cause withholds you then to mourn for him?
O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason. Bear with me;
My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar,
And I must pause till it come back to me. 115

First Cit. Methinks there is much reason in his sayings.

Second Cit. If thou consider rightly of the matter,
Cæsar has had great wrong.

Third Cit. Has he, masters?
I fear there will a worse come in his place.

112. *art*] F 2, 3, 4; *are* F 1. 118. *Has he*] F 4; *ha's hee* F 1, 2, 3.

99. *When that*] See note on i. 92.

103. *on the Lupercal*] at the feast of the Lupercalia. See I. i. 72.

114. *My heart is in the coffin*] Malone compares Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1593:

"Say that my heart is gone into the grave
With him, in whom it rests and ever shall."

115. *I must pause*] This pause expresses grief too great for words. Compare *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 210:

"The grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break."

It is also adroitly employed by the poet to give the citizens time for reflection and an opportunity of expressing the change that their sentiments are undergoing.

118. *Has he*] Craik adds "not" so as to make the question expect the

Fourth Cit. Mark'd ye his words? He would not take the crown; 120
Therefore, 'tis certain, he was not ambitious.
First Cit. If it be found so, some will dear abide it.
Second Cit. Poor soul! his eyes are red as fire with weeping.
Third Cit. There 's not a nobler man in Rome than Antony.
Fourth Cit. Now mark him; he begins again to speak. 125
Ant. But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world; now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence.
O masters! if I were dispos'd to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage, 130
I should do Brutus wrong, and Cassius wrong,
Who, you all know, are honourable men.
I will not do them wrong; I rather choose
To wrong the dead, to wrong myself, and you,
Than I will wrong such honourable men. 135
But here 's a parchment with the seal of Cæsar;

answer "Yes" and improve the metre. Capell and Walker effect the latter purpose by inserting "my" before "masters." The question, however, seems weak. One of the best emendations is that proposed by Professor H. Morley and conjectured independently by Mark Hunter in India: "That he has, masters." This not only improves the metre, but also puts an emphatic expression of conviction in the mouth of the speaker. We get still nearer the fourth Folio, if we read "That has he, masters," in which case we have only to suppose that "that" was dropped, and that the inversion of subject and verb led to the insertion of the note of interrogation. The reading of the earlier Folios, however, strongly supports "Ha, has he, masters?" an emendation suggested by Prof. Littledale. The question, when preceded by an interjection expressive of indignation and surprise at the new idea that has entered the speaker's mind, ceases to have any appearance of weakness. Compare the use of "ha" in IV. iii. 147.

122. *abide*] See note on i. 94.

126. *But yesterday*] With this famous antithesis compare *Æneid*, ii. 554–558.

128. *so poor to do him*] For the construction compare i. 39, 40.

135. *Than I will wrong*] a sense construction for "than wrong," as "I rather choose to wrong the dead" is equivalent in sense to "I will rather wrong the dead."

I found it in his closet, 'tis his will.
Let but the commons hear this testament,
Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read,
And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds, 140
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood,
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue. 145

Fourth Cit. We'll hear the will: read it, Mark Antony.

Citizens. The will, the will! we will hear Cæsar's will.

Ant. Have patience, gentle friends; I must not read it:
It is not meet you know how Cæsar lov'd you.
You are not wood, you are not stones, but men; 150
And, being men, hearing the will of Cæsar,
It will inflame you, it will make you mad.
'Tis good you know not that you are his heirs;
For if you should, O! what would come of it.

Fourth Cit. Read the will! we'll hear it, Antony; 155

139. *Which, pardon me,*] (*Which pardon me*) Ff.

139. *I do not mean to read*] Compare Iago's conduct in *Othello*, III. iii. 101–104, 120, 121, 152–154, and Bacon's remark in his Essay on "Cunning," that "the breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more."

141. *napkins*] handkerchiefs, as in *Othello*, III. iii. 290. The word is used in this sense in modern Scotch.

142. *for memory*] to remind them of the dead.

147.] For the noun or verb first used in hurried exclamation and then supplemented by a more regular construction, compare *Æneid*, ii. 668, ix. 427, *The Lady of the Lake*, VI. xvii.: "'Down, down!' cried Mar, 'your lances down,'" and "A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse," *Richard III.* V. iv. 7.

148. *gentle*] See note on I. ii. 231.

150. *stones*] Compare I. i. 40, "stone-hard heart" (*Richard III.* IV. iv. 228), and *Rokeby*, III. xxx. 25: "The father was steel and the mother was stone."

153.] Here by a common rhetorical device Antony, while professing to conceal a fact, reveals it.

You shall read us the will, Cæsar's will.

Ant. Will you be patient? will you stay awhile?
I have o'ershot myself to tell you of it,
I fear I wrong the honourable men
Whose daggers have stabb'd Cæsar; I do fear it. 160

Fourth Cit. They were traitors: honourable men!

Citizens. The will! the testament!

Second Cit. They were villains, murderers. The will! read the will!

Ant. You will compel me then to read the will?
Then make a ring about the corpse of Cæsar, 165
And let me show you him that made the will.
Shall I descend? and will you give me leave?

Citizens. Come down.

Second Cit. Descend. [*Antony comes down.*

Third Cit. You shall have leave. 170

Fourth Cit. A ring; stand round.

First Cit. Stand from the hearse; stand from the body.

Second Cit. Room for Antony; most noble Antony.

Ant. Nay, press not so upon me; stand far off.

Citizens. Stand back! room! bear back! 175

Ant. If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
You all do know this mantle: I remember
The first time ever Cæsar put it on;
'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,

158. *o'ershot myself*] produced more effect than I intended, like an archer who shoots his arrow over the mark. Compare *Macbeth*, I. vii. 27: "Vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself."

160. *Whose daggers, etc.*] This clause is intended by its sound as well as by its sense to describe the ferocity of the conspirators and make the mob resent the application of the epithet "honourable" to them.

161. *honourable men!*] an exclamation presenting the idea for immediate rejection with scorn.

174. *far*] a comparative here, as in *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 442: "Far than Deucalion off."

That day he overcame the Nervii. 180
Look! in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:
See what a rent the envious Casca made:
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;
And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Cæsar follow'd it, 185
As rushing out of doors, to be resolv'd
If Brutus so unkindly knock'd or no;
For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel:
Judge, O you gods! how dearly Cæsar lov'd him.
This was the most unkindest cut of all; 190
For when the noble Cæsar saw him stab,
Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,
Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart;
And, in his mantle muffling up his face,
Even at the base of Pompey's statue, 195
Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.
O! what a fall was there, my countrymen;
Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,

195. *statue*] Ff; *statua* Steevens, Dyce.

180. *That day*] on the day on which. Compare II. i. 331.

180. *the Nervii*] a people of Gaul conquered by Cæsar after a desperate struggle in 57 B.C. In his *Life of Cæsar* Plutarch describes the battle and the festivities with which the victory was celebrated at Rome. Antony was not present at the battle.

186. *be resolv'd*] See i. 131.

188. *Cæsar's angel*] Cæsar lov'd and revered him, as if he were an angel.

190. *most unkindest*] a double superlative. Compare i. 121.

192. *Ingratitude*] In the Earl of Sterline's play Calpurnia remarks that, "Nought but unkindness Cæsar could o'ercome."

194. *muffling up his face*] *operto capite*, Horace, Sat. II. iii. 37. Plutarch relates that "when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gown over his head, and made no more resistance." Compare V. v. 47.

195. *statue*] is a trisyllable as in II. ii. 76. An ancient statue, which was discovered in 1553, and now stands in the Spada Palace at Rome, may be the very statue of Pompey at the base of which Cæsar fell. Byron devotes a stanza to it. See *Childe Harold*, IV. lxxxvii.

196. *ran blood*] "against the very base whereon Pompey's statue stood, which ran all a gore of blood" (Plutarch).

Whilst bloody treason flourish'd over us.
O! now you weep, and I perceive you feel 200
The dint of pity; these are gracious drops,
Kind souls, what! weep you when you but behold
Our Cæsar's vesture wounded? Look you here,
Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, with traitors.

First Cit. O piteous spectacle! 205

Second Cit. O noble Cæsar!

Third Cit. O woeful day!

Fourth Cit. O traitors! villains!

First Cit. O most bloody sight!

Second Cit. We will be revenged. 210

Citizens. Revenge! — About! — Seek! — Burn! —
Fire!—Kill!—Slay!—Let not a traitor live.

Ant. Stay, countrymen.

First Cit. Peace there! Hear the noble Antony.

Second Cit. We'll hear him, we'll follow him, we'll 215
die with him.

Ant. Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
To such a sudden flood of mutiny.
They that have done this deed are honourable:
What private griefs they have, alas! I know not, 220

211. Citizens] omitted in Ff.

199. *flourish'd*] triumphed, or, perhaps, brandished his sword, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 85:

"Old Montague is come,
And flourishes his blade in spite of me."

201. *gracious*] betokening goodness of heart, which in theological language was grace or the effect of grace.

202. *but behold*] Compare I. i. 48.

203. *Look you here*] Saying these words, Antony tears off the mantle and reveals the body of Cæsar.

204. *marr'd . . . with*] mangled by.

213. *Stay*] Here, as in line 240, Antony has really o'ershot himself, and has spoken with such effect that his audience are running off, before he has said all that he wants to say.

220. *griefs*] grievances, causes of complaint, as in IV. ii. 42, 46. The epithet "private" insinuates that not patriotism and the "public reasons" alleged by Brutus in line 7, but personal motives, induced the conspirators to kill Cæsar.

That made them do it; they are wise and honourable,
And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you.
I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts:
I am no orator, as Brutus is;
But, as you know me all, a plain blunt man, 225
That love my friend; and that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him.
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on; 230
I tell you that which you yourselves do know,
Show you sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor poor dumb mouths,
And bid them speak for me: but were I Brutus,
And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue 235
In every wound of Cæsar, that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

Citizens. We 'll mutiny.

First Cit. We 'll burn the house of Brutus.

227. *gave*] F 1; *give* F 2, 3, 4. 228. *wit*] F 2, 3, 4; *writ* F 1.

222. *with reasons answer you*] There is a subtle irony in Antony's remark. He knew well the folly of attempting to give reasons to an excited mob. Brutus had already attempted to do this (i. 237), and the temporary effect produced by his reasoning was entirely swept away by Antony's impassioned appeal to their feelings.

226. *that*] that I am no orator. Antony insinuates that the conspirators would not have allowed a good speaker to pronounce Cæsar's eulogy.

227. *public leave to speak of him*] permission to speak of him in public.

228. *wit, nor words, nor worth*] cleverness, nor command of language, nor ability. Johnson explains "writ," the reading of the first Folio, as meaning a "penned or premeditated oration."

229. *Action*] used in its oratorical sense to express the appropriate movements with which the orator accompanied his speech.

232. *poor poor*] See note on II. ii. 102.

232. *dumb mouths*] Compare i. 260.

233, 234. *were I Brutus, And Brutus Antony*] if I and Brutus exchanged our characteristics, so that I had the oratorical power of Brutus. Compare I. ii. 319.

Third Cit. Away then! come, seek the conspirators.
Ant. Yet hear me, countrymen; yet hear me speak. 240
Citizens. Peace, ho!—Hear Antony—Most noble Antony.
Ant. Why, friends, you go to do you know not what.
Wherein hath Cæsar thus deserv'd your loves?
Alas! you know not: I must tell you then.
You have forgot the will I told you of. 245
Citizens. Most true. The will! Let's stay and hear the will.
Ant. Here is the will, and under Cæsar's seal.
To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.
Second Cit. Most noble Cæsar! We'll revenge his death. 250
Third Cit. O royal Cæsar!
Ant. Hear me with patience.
Citizens. Peace, ho!
Ant. Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards, 255
On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,
And to your heirs for ever; common pleasures,
To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.
Here was a Cæsar! when comes such another?

256. *this side*] Ff, *that side* Theobald.

240. *Yet hear me*] See note on 213.

256. *this side*] The gardens were really on the other side of the Tiber. Shakespeare repeats the mistake made by North, who followed Amyot. "On this side" is a prepositional phrase governing an object. Compare Tennyson's lines:

"On either side the river lie
Rich fields of barley and of rye."

257. *common pleasures*] sources of pleasure to the general public. As "pleasure" and "pleasance" were once equivalent terms (compare *Othello*, II. iii. 293), and "pleasance," though not so used by Shakespeare, often has the meaning of "pleasure grounds," we might almost give that meaning to "pleasures" here and in *Paradise Lost*, IX. 120.

259. *when comes such another*] = "I shall not look upon his like again," *Hamlet*, I. ii. 188.

First Cit. Never, never! Come, away, away! 260
We 'll burn his body in the holy place,
And with the brands fire the traitors' houses.
Take up the body.
Second Cit. Go, fetch fire.
Third Cit. Pluck down benches. 265
Fourth Cit. Pluck down forms, windows, any thing.
[*Exeunt Citizens with the body.*
Ant. Now let it work. Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt!

Enter a Servant.

How now, fellow!
Serv. Sir, Octavius is already come to Rome.
Ant. Where is he? 270
Serv. He and Lepidus are at Cæsar's house.
Ant. And thither will I straight to visit him.
He comes upon a wish. Fortune is merry,
And in this mood will give us any thing.
Serv. I heard him say Brutus and Cassius 275
Are rid like madmen through the gates of Rome.
Ant. Belike they had some notice of the people,
How I had mov'd them. Bring me to Octavius.
[*Exeunt.*

262. *fire the*] F 1; *fire all the* F 2, 3, 4. 275. *him*] Ff, *them* Capell.

261. *the holy place*] Plutarch says they burnt the body "in the midst of the most holy places."

267. *Mischief*] being the English equivalent of Ate (i. 271), Antony has done much to bring about the fulfilment of his own prophecy.

273. *upon a wish*] exactly in accordance with my wishes.

274. *in this mood*] "in the giving vein," *Richard III.* IV. ii. 119.

278. *How I had mov'd them*] Here "of" first governs a noun, and then, to make the meaning clearer, a noun clause. Compare V. v. 22.

SCENE III.—*The Same. A Street.*

Enter CINNA, *the Poet.*

Cin. I dreamt to-night that I did feast with Cæsar,
And things unluckily charge my fantasy:
I have no will to wander forth of doors,
Yet something leads me forth.

Enter Citizens.

First Cit. What is your name? 5
Second Cit. Whither are you going?
Third Cit. Where do you dwell?
Fourth Cit. Are you a married man or a bachelor?
Second Cit. Answer every man directly.
First Cit. Ay, and briefly. 10
Fourth Cit. Ay, and wisely.
Third Cit. Ay, and truly, you are best.

2. *unluckily*] Ff; *unlucky* Warburton, Dyce; *unlikely* Craik, Collier MS.

1. *to-night*] See note on II. ii. 76.

2. *unluckily*] in a way foreboding misfortune. "Unlikely," the reading of Collier's MS. annotator accepted by Craik, does not seem to improve the sense. Warburton's emendation "unlucky" is more tempting. Steevens quotes an old treatise on fortune-telling, in which it is stated that to dream of being at banquets betokens misfortune. In Plutarch's *Life of Brutus*, Cinna dreams that Cæsar invites him to supper, and leads him against his will into a dark place where he is marvellously afraid. Cinna, like Shylock in the *Merchant of Venice*, II. v. 16–18, derives a presentiment of evil from his dreams. Romeo, on the contrary, on the morning of his death, says:

"My dreams presage some joyful news at hand,
My bosom's lord sits lightly in his throne."

2. *charge*] burden, depress, as in *Macbeth*, V. i. 60: "The heart is sorely charged."

3. *I have no will, etc.*] Steevens compares the *Merchant of Venice*, II. v. 37, where Shylock says:

"I have no mind of feasting forth to-night:
But I will go."

9. *directly*] in a straightforward manner.

Cin. What is my name? Whither am I going? Where do I dwell? Am I a married man or a bachelor? Then, to answer every man directly and briefly, wisely and truly; wisely I say, I am a bachelor. 15

Second Cit. That's as much as to say they are fools that marry; you'll bear me a bang for that, I fear. Proceed; directly. 20

Cin. Directly, I am going to Cæsar's funeral.

First Cit. As a friend or an enemy?

Cin. As a friend.

Second Cit. The matter is answered directly.

Fourth Cit. For your dwelling, briefly. 25

Cin. Briefly, I dwell by the Capitol.

Third Cit. Your name, sir, truly.

Cin. Truly, my name is Cinna.

First Cit. Tear him to pieces; he's a conspirator.

Cin. I am Cinna the poet, I am Cinna the poet. 30

Fourth Cit. Tear him for his bad verses, tear him for his bad verses.

Cin. I am not Cinna the conspirator.

Second Cit. It is no matter, his name's Cinna; pluck

16. *wisely*] is put in such a position that it may express either the wisdom of the answer or the wisdom of being a bachelor.

19. *you'll bear me a bang*] you'll get a bang. The speaker is evidently a married man who resents Cinna's disparagement of marriage. By the ethical dative "me" (compare I. ii. 266), he expresses his interest in the matter, and indicates indirectly that he will himself deliver the blow. Or perhaps the meaning is, "You will be having a hit at me because of that remark," *i.e.* the remark makes him think that Cinna is making a disparaging reflection on married men. The future sometimes expresses what is probably true in the present, what will turn out to be true, as when we say, "It will now be ten o'clock." See Appendix.

21. *Directly*] like wisely in 16, is purposely made ambiguous by its position. It may express either the straightforwardness of the answer or that Cinna is going straight to Cæsar's funeral.

but his name out of his heart, and turn him going. 35

Third Cit. Tear him, tear him! Come, brands, ho! firebrands! To Brutus, to Cassius; burn all. Some to Decius' house, and some to Casca's; some to Ligarius'. Away! go! 40

[*Exeunt.*

ACT IV

SCENE I.—*Rome. A Room in Antony's House.*

Enter ANTONY, OCTAVIUS, *and* LEPIDUS.

Ant. These many then shall die; their names are prick'd.
Oct. Your brother too must die; consent you, Lepidus?
Lep. I do consent—
Oct. Prick him down, Antony.
Lep. Upon condition Publius shall not live,
Who is your sister's son, Mark Antony. 5
Ant. He shall not live; look, with a spot I damn him.

3. *consent*—] Knight, *consent.* Ff. 5. *Who is your*] Ff, *You are his* Upton.

35, 36. *turn him going*] turn him off (IV. i. 25), and let him go. "Going" is proleptic and expresses the result of the action of the verb, as in the colloquial "Set it going." For the grim irony of the citizen's remark compare the story of the Earl of Douglas, who said to Sir Patrick Gray, "Yonder is your sister's son lying, but he wants the head: take his body and do with it what you will." To which Sir Patrick replied, "My lord, if ye have taken from him his head, dispone upon the body as ye please."

Act IV. Scene I.

Enter] This stage-direction is often found in the old editions of Shakespeare, where no motion is intended, as here, and, probably, at the beginning of Acts I. and II. In this scene the three triumvirs may naturally be supposed to be "discovered" sitting round a table when the curtain rises.

1. *prick'd*] See note on III. i. 216.

4. *Publius*] This description of Publius is inconsistent with III. i. 93. The nephew of Antony could hardly have been an aged man at this time. Plutarch in his account of the conference says that Antony "forsook Lucius Cæsar, who was his uncle by his mother."

6. *damn*] condemn, as in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra:* "Vouchsafe to give my damned husband life."

But, Lepidus, go you to Cæsar's house;
Fetch the will hither, and we shall determine
How to cut off some charge in legacies.

Lep. What! shall I find you here? 10

Oct. Or here or at the Capitol. [*Exit Lepidus.*

Ant. This is a slight unmeritable man,
Meet to be sent on errands: is it fit,
The three-fold world divided, he should stand
One of the three to share it?

Oct. So you thought him; 15
And took his voice who should be prick'd to die
In our black sentence and proscription.

Ant. Octavius, I have seen more days than you:
And though we lay these honours on this man,
To ease ourselves of divers slanderous loads, 20
He shall but bear them as the ass bears gold,
To groan and sweat under the business,
Either led or driven, as we point the way;

23. *point*] F 1; *print* F 2, 3, 4.

7. *to Cæsar's house*] This and line 11 show that the scene is laid at Rome, although the historical meeting-place of the triumvirs was a small island on the river Rhenus near Bononia.

9. *to cut off, etc.*] to diminish the expenditure in paying Cæsar's legacies. Antony intended to embezzle some of the money, and use it for his own purposes.

12. *a slight unmeritable man*] a man of no importance and deserving little consideration. "Slight" is so used again in iii. 37.

14. *The three-fold world divided*] the world being divided into three parts. The adjective is used proleptically, although it precedes its noun, as in *Macbeth*, III. iv. 76: "Ere human statute purged the gentle weal."

15. *So*] fit to take a third part of the world.

16. *voice*] vote, as in III. i. 177, and *Othello*, I. ii. 13.

17. *black sentence*] sentence of death. For this sense Murray quotes Habington's *Castara* (1640): "The black edict of a tyrant grave." Compare "black list" = "list of condemned persons."

20. *divers slanderous loads*] Lepidus was to bear the odium of the most unpopular acts of the triumvirate.

21. *as the ass bears gold*] Compare *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 26:

"For, like an ass whose back with ingots bows,
Thou bear'st thy heavy riches but a journey."

22. *business*] here a trisyllable, as in *Richard II.* II. i. 217.

And having brought our treasure where we will,
Then take we down his load, and turn him off, 25
Like to the empty ass, to shake his ears,
And graze in commons.

Oct. You may do your will;
But he 's a tried and valiant soldier.

Ant. So is my horse, Octavius; and for that
I do appoint him store of provender. 30
It is a creature that I teach to fight,
To wind, to stop, to run directly on,
His corporal motion govern'd by my spirit.
And, in some taste, is Lepidus but so;
He must be taught, and train'd, and bid go forth; 35
A barren-spirited fellow; one that feeds
On objects, arts, and imitations,

37. *objects, arts*] Ff, *abject orts* Theobald.

25. *take we down his load*] Notice the dramatic irony in this speech. Antony proposes to treat Lepidus much as he himself was afterwards treated by Octavius.

27. *commons*] In Shakespeare's time most English villages had tracts of public ground on which the villagers could graze their donkeys and other animals.

32. *wind*] turn about.

33. *corporal motion*] See note on II. i. 66.

34. *in some taste*] when tested in some ways, *i.e.* in some measure. Compare *Lear*, I. ii. 47: "He wrote this but as an essay or taste of my virtue," which with other passages indicates that the nouns "test" and "taste" were confused.

36. *barren-spirited fellow*] a man destitute of originality.

37. *objects, arts, and imitations*] imitations of objects and arts. Compare II. ii. 80. Objects are material things, such as horses, hounds, pictures, and statues. "Arts" here includes not only subjects of knowledge, as in the expression "liberal arts," but also modes of speech and behaviour in society, and everything else that can be acquired by study. There is much plausibility in Theobald's emendation "abject orts," *i.e.* scraps and fragments rejected by others. "Abject" is a favourite term of contempt in Shakespeare. "Ort" is also a not uncommon Shakespearian word. It is derived from *or*, out, and *etan*, eat, and means a fragment left after eating. It therefore goes naturally with "feeds on" here and in a passage quoted by Johnson from Ben Jonson, "Brave plush and velvetmen can feed on orts." The Cambridge editors, following Staunton, read "abjects, orts, and imitations." This involves less altera-

Which, out of use and stal'd by other men,
Begin his fashion: do not talk of him
But as a property. And now, Octavius, 40
Listen great things: Brutus and Cassius
Are levying powers; we must straight make head;
Therefore let our alliance be combin'd,
Our best friends made, and our best means stretch'd out;
And let us presently go sit in council, 45
How covert matters may be best disclos'd,
And open perils surest answered.

44. *and our best means stretch'd out*] F 2, 3, 4; *our best means stretch'a* F 1.

tion of the reading of the Folio. There is no other instance in Shakespeare of "abject" used as a noun in the sense of "rejected object," but Mark Hunter quotes one from Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*. On the whole, it seems better to retain the reading of the Folio, as we find "objects" in a similar context in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 70: "A foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, and revolutions."

38. *Which, out of use, etc.*] which he does not begin to adopt until they have been discarded by others, and become hackneyed. Like Justice Shallow (*2 Henry IV.* III. ii. 339), he "came ever in the rearward of the fashion."

40. *property*] a tool. Compare *Merry Wives*, III. iv. 10, and Beaumont and Fletcher's *False One*, V. iii.:

"This devil, Photinus,
Employs me as a property, and, grown useless,
Will shake me off again."

41. *Listen*] is still used transitively in poetry, *e.g.* in Heber's verses:

"In cool Bengala's leafy grove
Listening the nightingale."

42. *make head*] gather together forces. Compare *1 Henry IV.* IV. iv. 25: "A head of gallant warriors."

44. *Our best friends made*] those who are likely to be most useful to us made our friends, and our most powerful resources employed to the greatest possible extent. This is how we must interpret the line as enlarged by the later Folios. "Our best friends made" is, however, so incomplete in itself, that it seems likely that what is omitted in the first Folio is an adjective meaning "firm" after "made," or perhaps an infinitive with "to," so that the line would be nearly as follows: "Our best friends made to know our best means stretch'd."

45. *go sit*] The fact that the infinitive without "to" cannot follow the inflected forms of "go" and "come" indicates that, when the uninflected form of another verb follows the imperative or infinitive of "go" or "come," it is a co-ordinate verb with "and" omitted before it. "Go sit" is short for "go and sit." Compare iii. 43; I. ii. 25.

47. *answered*] met, encountered, as *2 Henry IV.* IV. v. 197:

"all these bold fears
Thou see'st with peril I have answered."

Oct. Let us do so: for we are at the stake,
And bay'd about with many enemies;
And some that smile have in their hearts, I fear, 50
Millions of mischiefs. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*Camp near Sardis. Before Brutus's Tent.*

Drum. Enter BRUTUS, LUCILIUS, LUCIUS, *and Soldiers;* TITINIUS *and* PINDARUS *meet them.*

Bru. Stand, ho!
Lucil. Give the word, ho! and stand.
Bru. What now, Lucilius! is Cassius near?
Lucil. He is at hand; and Pindarus is come
To do you salutation from his master. 5
Bru. He greets me well. Your master, Pindarus,
In his own change, or by ill officers,
Hath given me some worthy cause to wish
Things done undone; but, if he be at hand,
I shall be satisfied.

5.] Capell adds as a stage-direction "presenting Pindarus, who gives a letter." 7. *officers*] Ff, *offices* Johnson.

48. *at the stake*] The metaphor is taken from bear-baiting, a brutal sport popular in the time of Elizabeth. Octavius and Antony were, in the words of Spenser, *F. Q.* I. xii. 35, "As chained bear, whom cruel dogs do bait." Compare also *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 98, II. v. 9; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 109, and *Macbeth*, V. vii. 1:

"They have tied me to a stake; I cannot fly
But bear-like I must fight the course."

Scene II.

5. *do you salutation*] Compare III. ii. 65, and *Henry V.* IV. i. 26: "Do my good morrow to them."

6. *He greets me well*] he does me honour by his greeting. This is a polite acknowledgment of a greeting, as in *2 Henry IV.* III. ii. 69. In neither case need we suppose that "well" refers to the contents of a letter supposed to be delivered by the messenger.

7. *In his own change*] owing to change of feeling on his own part, or misled by bad officers. Warburton reads "in his own charge," *i.e.* "in matters under his own immediate control."

10. *I shall be satisfied*] I shall be rendered satisfaction, receive explanations.

Pin. I do not doubt 10
But that my noble master will appear
Such as he is, full of regard and honour.
Bru. He is not doubted. A word, Lucilius:
How he receiv'd you, let me be resolv'd.
Lucil. With courtesy and with respect enough; 15
But not with such familiar instances,
Nor with such free and friendly conference,
As he hath us'd of old.
Bru. Thou hast describ'd
A hot friend cooling. Ever note, Lucilius,
When love begins to sicken and decay, 20
It useth an enforced ceremony.
There are no tricks in plain and simple faith;
But hollow men, like horses hot at hand,

13. *Lucilius:*] *Lucilius* F 1, 2; *Lucilius,* F 3, 4; *Lucilius,*— Rowe. 14. *you,*] Rowe, *you:* Ff.

12. *full of regard*] worthy of all respect. "Full of regard" means "wise" according to A. Schmidt, who both here and in III. i. 224 takes "regard" as meaning "thought." Compare *Lucrece*, 277, 1400.

16. *familiar instances*] words and acts of friendly importunity, such as is shown by hospitable hosts who press their visitors to eat and drink more and stay longer. We have a good illustration of such friendly importunity in the *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 9–55. For this meaning of the word, which is not found elsewhere in Shakespeare, Murray quotes Whiston's *Josephus*, "The earnest instances and fervent entreaties of Balak," and gives several passages illustrating the corresponding use of the verb "instance." A. Schmidt, however, takes "familiar instances" to mean "proofs of familiarity." For "instance" in this sense, compare *Troilus and Cressida*, v. ii. 153: "O instance strong as Pluto's gates."

17. *conference*] conversation.

21. *enforced ceremony*] as opposed to natural kindness. So when Lord Castlewood became suspicious of Mohun, he "treated him with a studied and ceremonious courtesy, certainly different from my lord's usual frank and careless demeanour" (*Esmond*, chap. xiv.).

23. *horses hot at hand*] fiery when led by the hand. Compare *Henry VIII.* v. iii. 21–24:

"those that tame wild horses
Pace them not in their hands to make them gentle,
But stop their mouths with stubborn bits, and spur them,
Till they obey the manage."

Craik quotes from Harington's *Ariosto*, "gentle to the spur and hand," which suggests that "at hand" may mean "restrained by the

Make gallant show and promise of their mettle;
But when they should endure the bloody spur, 25
They fall their crests, and, like deceitful jades,
Sink in the trial. Comes his army on?

Lucil. They mean this night in Sardis to be quarter'd;
The greater part, the horse in general,
Are come with Cassius. [*Low march within.*

Bru. Hark! he is arriv'd. 30
March gently on to meet him.

Enter CASSIUS *and Soldiers.*

Cas. Stand, ho!

Bru. Stand, ho! Speak the word along.

First Sold. Stand!

Second Sold. Stand! 35

Third Sold. Stand!

Cas. Most noble brother, you have done me wrong.

Bru. Judge me, you gods! wrong I mine enemies?
And, if not so, how should I wrong a brother?

Cas. Brutus, this sober form of yours hides wrongs; 40
And when you do them—

26. *crests*] F 1; *crest* F 2, 3, 4. 34, 35, 36. First Sold., Second Sold., Third Sold.] omitted in Ff.

rein." The meaning would then be that the horses are fretful when checked by the bit, but dull when the rider spurs them on.

26. *fall*] transitive, as in the following quotation and often in Shakespeare. The lowering of the crest indicates want of spirit and humiliation, as in *Richard II.* I. i. 188, *Merry Wives*, IV. v. 102, and *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 379:

"make him fall
His crest that prouder than blue Iris bends."

The opposite condition is described in *P. L.* ix. 633.

27. *Sink*] fail, succumb. Craik unnecessarily suspects that "shrink" is the true reading. "Sink" is used in much the same sense in *Othello*, II. iii. 209.

29. *the horse in general*] the whole of the cavalry.

40. *this sober form of yours*] this outward appearance of composure that you put on. Compare "tardy form" (I. ii. 304).

Bru. Cassius, be content;
Speak your griefs softly: I do know you well.
Before the eyes of both our armies here,
Which should perceive nothing but love from us,
Let us not wrangle: bid them move away; 45
Then in my tent, Cassius, enlarge your griefs,
And I will give you audience.

Cas. Pindarus,
Bid our commanders lead their charges off
A little from this ground.

Bru. Lucius, do you the like; and let no man 50
Come to our tent till we have done our conference.
Lucilius and Titinius guard our door. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*Within the Tent of Brutus.*

Enter BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS.

Cas. That you have wrong'd me doth appear in this:
You have condemn'd and noted Lucius Pella
For taking bribes here of the Sardians;

50. *Lucius*] Craik, *Lucilius* Ff. 52. *Lucilius*] Craik, *Let Lucius* Ff.

41. *be content*] restrain yourself. The choleric Cassius in his excitement has been speaking loud. Brutus knows him well, that is, knows his liability to violent outbursts of passion, and tries to calm him.

42. *griefs*] See note on III. ii. 220.

48. *their charges*] the troops under their command.

50. *Lucius, do you the like*] See Appendix.

52. *our door*] Dyce reads "the door," supposing that the "our" was repeated by mistake from the previous line. But, if Brutus could describe the tent in which they met as "our tent," he could equally well speak of its door as "our door."

Scene III.

2. *noted*] branded with infamy. "Brutus upon complaint of the Sardians did condemn and note Lucius Pella for a defamed person" (North's *Plutarch*). The Latin verb *noto* expressed the mark of degradation inflicted by the censors on those who had disgraced themselves. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 125, "perjured note" = "brand of perjury."

Wherein my letters, praying on his side,
Because I knew the man was slighted off— 5

Bru. You wrong'd yourself to write in such a case.

Cas. In such a time as this it is not meet
That every nice offence should bear his comment.

Bru. Let me tell you, Cassius, you yourself
Are much condemn'd to have an itching palm; 10
To sell and mart your offices for gold
To undeservers.

Cas. I an itching palm!
You know that you are Brutus that speaks this,
Or, by the gods, this speech were else your last.

Bru. The name of Cassius honours this corruption, 15

4. *letters*] F 1; *letter* F 2, 3, 4. 5. *man was*] F 1; *man, was* F 2, 3, 4; *man, were* Malone; *off*—] *off.* Ff. 9. *Let*] Ff, *And let* Dyce. 13. *speaks*] Ff, *speak* Pope and later editors.

5. *slighted off*] dismissed in disgrace. Cassius wrote in his behalf because he heard of his dismissal, which he considered to be under the circumstances impolitic. "Slight off" is used in this sense in the passage quoted by Dyce from Dekker:

> "Brave Shalcan Bohor, all this while
> Our eye has followed yours, and seen it smile,
> As 'twere in scorn of what these men could do,
> Which made us slight them off to engross you,
> Our best and richest prize."

Compare also *Merry Wives*, III. v. 9, "The rogues slighted me into the river." See Appendix.

8. *nice offence*] what would be considered an offence by a nice, *i.e.* excessively precise and scrupulous critic, a trifling offence.

8. *his*] neuter possessive, as in I. ii. 123.

10. *condemn'd to have*] censured for having, said to have and therefore condemned.

12. *I an itching palm!*] For the construction compare the quotations given in the note on line 240. An itching palm is supposed to indicate greediness for money. For "itching" as expressive of longing, compare 2 Timothy iv. 3, and *Merry Wives*, II. iii. 48, "If I see a sword out my finger itches to make one."

13. *speaks*] Compare III. i. 30.

15, 16. *The name of Cassius, etc.*] Brutus is speaking generally of the prevalent corruption, and complains that, as Cassius himself set the example, and was too great to be punished, other offenders escape the punishment they deserve. They could count on exemption from chastisement, arguing, as Casca does in I. iii. 158:

> ". . . that which would appear offence in us,
> His countenance, like richest alchemy,
> Will change to virtue and to worthiness."

And chastisement doth therefore hide his head.

Cas. Chastisement!

Bru. Remember March, the ides of March remember:
Did not great Julius bleed for justice' sake?
What villain touch'd his body, that did stab, 20
And not for justice? What! shall one of us,
That struck the foremost man of all this world
But for supporting robbers, shall we now
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes,
And sell the mighty space of our large honours 25
For so much trash as may be grasped thus?
I had rather be a dog, and bay the moon,

27. *bay*] F 1; *bait* F 2, 3, 4.

17. *Chastisement!*] Cassius utters this indignant exclamation, thinking that he himself is threatened with punishment.

18.] In this line we have the arrangement of words called chiasmus, as in I. i. 16.

20. *What villain touch'd*] who was such a villain as to touch his body, stabbing for any other motive than justice. Compare V. iv. 2.

23. *supporting robbers*] Here a new motive is suggested as having actuated the murder of Cæsar, and a strange one, seeing that almost all the conspirators had been advanced to high office by Cæsar. Plutarch relates that Brutus told Cassius that "he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they slew Julius Cæsar, who neither pilled nor polled the country, but only was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoil by his countenance and authority."

25. *mighty space of our large honours*] Compare *Measure for Measure*, I. i. 24, where the "ample grace and honour" is the high distinction of acting as the Duke's deputy. Here the "large honours" are the offices of honour and trust that Brutus and Cassius had to confer. It is in accordance with the character of Brutus that he should speak of these honours in grandiloquent terms. He is so full of the consciousness of the respect that he ought to have as the liberator of the Roman world, that he thinks it is an honour not only to serve under him but even to die by his sword (V. i. 60). The words of Brutus also suggest another meaning. If Brutus and Cassius sold their honours (offices) for gold, they would also by the same transaction sell something still more valuable, namely, their honour (reputation). Both meanings are probably intended. Compare *Othello*, IV. i., where Othello thinks that Desdemona, by giving away her handkerchief, has not only given away that, but also her honour.

26. *thus*] Here Brutus would make his meaning clear by grasping imaginary money in his hand. See note on I. ii. 219.

Than such a Roman.

Cas. Brutus, bait not me;
I'll not endure it: you forget yourself,
To hedge me in. I am a soldier, I, 30
Older in practice, abler than yourself
To make conditions.

Bru. Go to; you are not, Cassius.

Cas. I am.

Bru. I say you are not.

Cas. Urge me no more, I shall forget myself; 35
Have mind upon your health; tempt me no further.

Bru. Away, slight man!

Cas. Is 't possible?

Bru. Hear me, for I will speak.
Must I give way and room to your rash choler?

28. *bait*] Ff, *bay* Theobald. 32. *not, Cassius*] *not Cassius* Ff.

28. *bait not me*] do not persecute, worry, torment me. Many editors follow Theobald in reading "bay not me," on the ground that Cassius is echoing the words of Brutus, and must use the same verb. It is no doubt for the same reason that in 27 the later Folios change "bay" into "bait." But though "bay" is sometimes used in the sense of "bait," "bay" in 27 merely means "bark at," and, if the same word were used again by Cassius, it would naturally be understood in the same sense. He therefore employs the stronger word "bait," comparing himself to a bear or bull tied to a stake and attacked by dogs. See note on i. 48.

30. *hedge me in*] restrain my liberty of action, circumscribe my authority.

30. *I*] The repetition of "I" for emphasis will be found again in v. iv. 7, and is common in Shakespeare. Tennyson often imitates this usage. "Moi" is used in this way in French, so that M. Beljame translates the passage "Je suis un soldat, moi, plus vieux, etc."

32. *make conditions*] settle terms in appointing men to offices. See lines 11, 25. The verb "condition" is used of an applicant for office making terms in a passage quoted by Johnson from L'Estrange, "'Tis one thing, I must confess, to condition for a good office, and another thing to do it gratis," where also the conditions referred to appear to be pecuniary.

32. *Go to*] an expression of indignant disagreement with what has been said.

36. *health*] welfare. This was no doubt the original meaning of the phrase "drink one's health." Murray quotes Chapman's *Iliad*, xv. 683: "There is no mercy in the wars, your healths lie in your hands." Compare the derivation of "wassail."

37. *slight man*] See note on i. 12.

Shall I be frighted when a madman stares? 40

Cas. O ye gods! ye gods! Must I endure all this?

Bru. All this! ay, more: fret till your proud heart break;
Go show your slaves how choleric you are,
And make your bondmen tremble. Must I budge?
Must I observe you? Must I stand and crouch 45
Under your testy humour? By the gods,
You shall digest the venom of your spleen,
Though it do split you; for from this day forth
I 'll use you for my mirth, yea, for my laughter,
When you are waspish.

Cas. Is it come to this? 50

Bru. You say you are a better soldier:
Let it appear so; make your vaunting true,
And it shall please me well. For mine own part,
I shall be glad to learn of noble men.

Cas. You wrong me every way; you wrong me, Brutus; 55
I said, an elder soldier, not a better:
Did I say "better"?

54. *noble*] Ff, *abler* Collier MS.

43. *show your slaves how choleric you are*] Compare *1 Henry VI.* IV. i. 167: "Digest your choler on your enemies."

45. *observe you*] study your humours so as not to offend you. Compare *2 Henry IV.* IV. iv. 30: "He is gracious, if he be observed."

47. *digest*] Cassius is to keep his spleen to himself, and treat it as Brutus says he treated his mental trouble in I. ii. 38.

54. *learn of*] take lessons from, as in *As You Like It*, III. ii. 68, "Learn of the wise."

54. *noble*] Though "abler" (line 31) is the word we should naturally expect here, "noble" is characteristic in the mouth of the high-souled Brutus, who would not condescend to be instructed except by men of high character. The one word "noble" is an appeal to Cassius to adhere to the highest moral principles. In line 231 Brutus fully admits the nobility of Cassius, which in his anger he had doubted. See also V. i. 111.

57. *Did I say "better"?*] See 31. Cassius had said he was an older soldier, no doubt intending to imply that he was also a better one.

Bru. If you did, I care not.
Cas. When Cæsar liv'd, he durst not thus have mov'd me.
Bru. Peace, peace! you durst not so have tempted him.
Cas. I durst not? 60
Bru. No.
Cas. What? durst not tempt him?
Bru. For your life you durst not.
Cas. Do not presume too much upon my love;
I may do that I shall be sorry for.
Bru. You have done that you should be sorry for. 65
There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats,
For I am arm'd so strong in honesty
That they pass by me as the idle wind,
Which I respect not. I did send to you
For certain sums of gold, which you denied me; 70
For I can raise no money by vile means:
By heaven, I had rather coin my heart,
And drop my blood for drachmas, than to wring
From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash
By any indirection. I did send 75
To you for gold to pay my legions,
Which you denied me: was that done like Cassius?
Should I have answer'd Caius Cassius so?
When Marcus Brutus grows so covetous,

The word "abler" in the same line does not refer to his soldiership.

65. *should be*] ought to be.

73. *to wring*] See note on I. ii. 171.

74. *hard*] hardened with manual labour. Compare I. ii. 244.

74. *vile trash*] a contemptuous description of money. Compare *Othello*, III. iii. 157: "Who steals my purse, steals trash."

75. *By any indirection*] by any irregular (*i.e.* unjust) means. Compare *King John*, III. i. 276, "Indirection thereby grows direct," and the use of the adjective in *2 Henry IV.* IV. v. 185:

"God knows, my son,
By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways
I met this crown."

To lock such rascal counters from his friends, 80
Be ready, gods, with all your thunderbolts,
Dash him to pieces!

Cas. I denied you not.

Bru. You did.

Cas. I did not: he was but a fool
That brought my answer back. Brutus hath riv'd my heart:
A friend should bear his friend's infirmities, 85
But Brutus makes mine greater than they are.

Bru. I do not, till you practise them on me.

Cas. You love me not.

Bru. I do not like your faults.

Cas. A friendly eye could never see such faults.

Bru. A flatterer's would not, though they do appear 90
As huge as high Olympus.

Cas. Come, Antony, and young Octavius, come,
Revenge yourselves alone on Cassius,
For Cassius is aweary of the world;
Hated by one he loves; brav'd by his brother; 95

81. *thunderbolts,*] Ff, *thunderbolts* Collier. 90. *do*] Ff, *did* Collier MS.

80. *rascal counters*] Compare "vile trash" in line 74.

81. *thunderbolts*] See note on I. iii. 49. See *post*, p. 180.

87. *I do not, till*] I do not enforce them till. Brutus answers with reference, not to the immediately preceding sentence, but to the general sense of Cassius' reproach. He would not for a moment admit that he exaggerated his friend's faults.

90. *do appear*] is more forcible than "did appear," as it is an assertion that the faults of Cassius really do appear to be as high as Olympus.

94. *Cassius*] is here a dissyllable, though it was a trisyllable in the previous line. Shakespeare in such points takes as much licence as the Greeks:

"quibus est nihil negatum
Et quos Ἄρες Ἄρες decet sonare."

See *Iliad*, v. 31, and *Martial*, ix. 12.

94. *aweary*] This expressive word is used nine times by Shakespeare. "A," when prefixed to adjectives, as in "a-weary" and "a-cold" (*Lear*, III. iv. 59), appears to represent the A.S. intensive prefix "of." See Abbott, sec. 24 (3).

Check'd like a bondman; all his faults observ'd,
Set in a note-book, learn'd, and conn'd by rote,
To cast into my teeth. O! I could weep
My spirit from mine eyes. There is my dagger,
And here my naked breast; within, a heart 100
Dearer than Pluto's mine, richer than gold:
If that thou be'st a Roman, take it forth;
I, that denied thee gold, will give my heart:
Strike, as thou didst at Cæsar; for, I know,
When thou didst hate him worst, thou lov'dst him better 105
Than ever thou lov'dst Cassius.

Bru. Sheathe your dagger.
Be angry when you will, it shall have scope;

98. *my*] Ff, *his* Capell. 101. *Pluto's*] Ff, *Plutus'* Pope and later editors.

96. *Check'd*] rebuked. The noun is so used in *Othello*, III. iii. 67: "Not almost a fault To incur a private check."

97. *Set in a note-book.*] This is exactly the way in which Bacon treated the faults of his rivals. See the account of his *Commentarius Solutus* in Abbott's *Bacon.*

98. *my*] It is quite natural that Cassius in his excitement should suddenly in the middle of a sentence give up speaking of himself in the third person.

100. *naked*] unprotected by armour, as in *Othello*, v. ii. 258 and *3 Henry VI.* v. iv. 42.

101. *Dearer*] more precious.

101. *Pluto's*] is altered into "Plutus'" in most editions here and in *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 197, "every grain of Pluto's gold," although, as indicated by the derivation of the name, Pluto, as well as Plutus, was the god of riches and is expressly so called, as M. Beljame points out, by Webster in the *Duchess of Malfi*, III. ii., "Pluto, the god of riches." If Shakespeare and Webster identify Pluto and Plutus, they might plead the authority of Aristophanes (*Plutus*, 727) and Sophocles (Fr. 259) in support of the identification. It should also be borne in mind that Pluto is the Italian form of Plutus. See note on I. ii. 3.

102. *If that*] See note on III. i. 92.

102. *thou*] The use of the singular pronoun shows that Cassius is impassioned. The colder Brutus throughout the scene uses the plural pronoun in addressing Cassius.

107. *it*] your anger, implied in the adjective "angry." Compare v. iii. 4, and *Marmion*, II. vii. 1:

"Lovely and gentle and distress'd—
These charms might tame the fiercest breast."

Do what you will, dishonour shall be humour.
O Cassius! you are yoked with a lamb
That carries anger as the flint bears fire, 110
Who, much enforced, shows a hasty spark,
And straight is cold again.

Cas. Hath Cassius liv'd
To be but mirth and laughter to his Brutus,
When grief and blood ill-temper'd vexeth him?

Bru. When I spoke that I was ill-temper'd too. 115

108. *humour*] Ff, *honour* Craik. 109. *lamb*] Ff, *man* Pope.

108. *dishonour shall be humour*] I will overlook any insults you vent upon me as due to your peculiar temper. This is just the way in which Cassius wishes Brutus to treat the poet in line 134.

110. *That carries anger*] The incongruity, by which a lamb appears to be represented as liable to flashes of anger, is due to the fact that the image of the lamb is not distinctly present to the consciousness of the speaker, so that he goes on as if he had not said "lamb," but "mild man." Compare such mixed metaphors as "take up arms against a sea of troubles." This way of looking to the sense rather than to the words actually used to express the sense also produces the sense constructions in line 151, II. i. 319, and III. i. 128.

111. *Who*] may refer to "flint." In *Tempest*, I. ii. 7, *Comedy of Errors*, I. ii. 37, *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 4, *Merchant of Venice*, II. vii. 4, *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 581, *Coriolanus*, III. ii. 119, we find "vessel," "drop," "pomewater," "casket," "anchors," and "knees" as antecedents to "who." There is no reason, however, in the present passage, why "who" should not refer to "lamb," in which case the comparison of the "lamblike" Brutus to a flint is first expressed by a simile and then by a metaphor.

113. *laughter*] subject of ridicule. Compare I. ii. 71. If the reading of the Folio is retained there, it gives additional force to this passage. Cassius, not being "a common laughter," would be the more galled at his friend's ridicule.

114. *ill-tempered*] badly combined, so as to make a man inclined to be ill-tempered in the present sense of the word, which we find in the following line. The expression "ill-tempered blood" is not exactly in accordance with the doctrine of the four humours (see note on V. v. 73), since here the blood is regarded as determining a man's character by itself and not in combination with choler, phlegm, and melancholy. Often "blood" in Shakespeare expresses the whole of the passionate side of human nature as distinguished from the reason, *e.g.*, in *Hamlet*, III. ii. 74:

> "blest are those,
> Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,
> That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
> To sound what stop she please."

114. *vexeth*] singular, as the subject may be regarded as really one.

115. *that*] See line 49.

Cas. Do you confess so much? Give me your hand.
Bru. And my heart too.
Cas. O Brutus!
Bru. What 's the matter?
Cas. Have you not love enough to bear with me,
When that rash humour which my mother gave me
Makes me forgetful?
Bru. Yes, Cassius; and from henceforth 120
When you are over-earnest with your Brutus,
He 'll think your mother chides, and leave you so.
[*Noise within.*
Poet. [*Within.*] Let me go in to see the generals;
There is some grudge between 'em, 'tis not meet
They be alone. 125
Lucil. [*Within.*] You shall not come to them.
Poet. [*Within.*] Nothing but death shall stay me.

Enter Poet, followed by LUCILIUS, TITINIUS, *and* LUCIUS.

Cas. How now! What 's the matter?
Poet. For shame, you generals! What do you mean?

117. *my heart too*] For the connection that exists or ought to exist between hands and hearts compare *Othello*, III. iv. 46, and the line quoted on I. iii. 117. In III. i. 174, instead of hands and hearts, we have arms and hearts closely associated.

117. *O Brutus*] Cassius is so deeply moved, that, for the moment, he cannot give coherent expression to his feelings. Compare III. ii. 115.

119. *that rash humour*] the choleric temper of Cassius.

119. *my mother gave me*] Compare Nelson's humorous apology for his refusal to receive a French messenger: "Forgive me, but my mother hated the French."

121. *over-earnest*] a euphemism to express what Brutus in his angrier mood called "rash choler" (39).

122. *leave you so*] not try to check you.

123. Poet.] Plutarch describes him as a counterfeit Cynic (see line 132) philosopher. Shakespeare appears to attribute to him the couplet which in Plutarch he quotes from Homer. Thus he is described in the stage-directions as "a poet" and in the text as a "jigging fool."

Love, and be friends, as two such men should be; 130
For I have seen more years, I 'm sure, than ye.

Cas. Ha, ha! how vilely doth this cynic rhyme!

Bru. Get you hence, sirrah; saucy fellow, hence!

Cas. Bear with him, Brutus; 'tis his fashion.

Bru. I 'll know his humour, when he knows his time: 135
What should the wars do with these jigging fools?
Companion, hence!

Cas. Away, away! be gone.

[*Exit Poet.*

Bru. Lucilius and Titinius, bid the commanders
Prepare to lodge their companies to-night.

Cas. And come yourselves, and bring Messala with you 140
Immediately to us. [*Exeunt Lucilius and Titinius.*

132. *vilely*] F 4; *vildely* F 1, 2; *vildly* F 3.

131. *I have seen more years*] In North's translation of Plutarch we read that "he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor said in Homer:

"My lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
For I have seen more years than suchie three."

Shakespeare, while improving the sound of the verses, obscures the logical connection between the principal and subordinate clauses. Compare II. iv. 28.

135. *know his humour*] recognise and indulge his humour, when he does not manifest it at an unseasonable time.

136. *What should the wars do, etc.*] these foolish rhymesters are quite out of place in a war. Malone notes that "a jig signified, in our author's time, a metrical composition, as well as a dance." "Jig" is derived from French *gigue*, a fiddle, and came to mean a lively dance or a song such as might be composed for the accompaniment of the fiddle. Hence it is used by Ben Jonson as a contemptuous term equivalent to "ballad" to express trifling metrical compositions unworthy of the name of poetry: "Posterity shall know that you dare in these jig-given times to countenance a legitimate poem."

137. *Companion*] in Shakespeare's time expressed inferiority, as it still does when we speak of a lady engaging a companion. Hence, like "fellow," it came to be used as a term of contempt. Craik quotes a late example of this use of the word from *Roderick Random:* "Scurvy companion! Saucy tarpaulin! Rude impertinent fellow!"

Bru. Lucius, a bowl of wine. [*Exit Lucius.*
Cas. I did not think you could have been so angry.
Bru. O Cassius! I am sick of many griefs.
Cas. Of your philosophy you make no use
If you give place to accidental evils. 145
Bru. No man bears sorrow better: Portia is dead.
Cas. Ha! Portia!
Bru. She is dead.
Cas. How 'scap'd I killing when I cross'd you so?
O insupportable and touching loss! 150
Upon what sickness?
Bru. Impatient of my absence,
And grief that young Octavius with Mark Antony
Have made themselves so strong; for with her death

151. *Impatient*] Ff, *Impatience* Capell.

144. *your philosophy*] Brutus, being a philosopher, should not have been moved by any accidental evil. Compare what the prince says to the philosopher in the eighteenth chapter of *Rasselas:* "Have you then forgot the precepts which you so powerfully enforced? Has wisdom no strength to arm the heart against calamity?" In both cases the precepts of philosophy are disregarded under the stress of a great domestic calamity.

145. *give place*] yield.

149. *How 'scap'd I killing*] A contributor (C. Forbes) to *Notes and Queries*, 28th September 1850, finds in this line recognition of the fact that a man may be, in the words of Petronius, "dolore in rabiem efferatus." He well compares *Romeo and Juliet*, v. iii. 33–39, 59–67, and the mad fury with which Mucklebackit flings the hammer at his boat in Scott's *Antiquary*, chapter xxxiv. To these illustrations we may add *Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. ii. 135: "And melancholy is the nurse of frenzy."

151.] The emotion of Brutus is indicated by the confusion of the syntax. The adjective "impatient" is coupled with "grief," as if it had been the abstract term "impatience," which it suggests. Compare *Cymbeline*, v. v. 343, "Beaten for loyalty excited me to treason," where the participle is regarded as equivalent to the fact of having been beaten and is made the subject of the verb "excited." "Grief" is left absolute owing to a change of construction after the parenthesis. Compare note on I. iii. 129.

153. *Have*] because in sense the subject is plural. Compare line 114.

153. *with her death*] with the tidings of her death.

That tidings came; with this she fell distract,
And, her attendants absent, swallow'd fire. 155

Cas. And died so?

Bru. Even so.

Cas. O ye immortal gods!

Re-enter LUCIUS *with wine and tapers.*

Bru. Speak no more of her. Give me a bowl of wine:
In this I bury all unkindness, Cassius.

Cas. My heart is thirsty for that noble pledge.
Fill, Lucius, till the wine o'erswell the cup; 160
I cannot drink too much of Brutus' love.

Bru. Come in, Titinius. [*Exit Lucius.*

Re-enter TITINIUS *with* MESSALA.

Welcome, good Messala.
Now sit we close about this taper here,
And call in question our necessities.

Cas. Portia, art thou gone?

Bru. No more, I pray you. 165
Messala, I have here received letters,
That young Octavius and Mark Antony
Come down upon us with a mighty power,
Bending their expedition toward Philippi.

Mes. Myself have letters of the self-same tenour. 170

154. *tidings*] though really a plural, is here treated as a singular noun. Compare the use of "news," which has almost lost its plural signification. "Tidings" is plural in v. iii. 54.

154. *with this*] sums up the double cause of her distraction, which might not be clearly remembered after the interruption of the parenthesis.

161. *of Brutus' love*] Compare the term "loving cup." Cassius, in the language of Burns, wished to "tak' a richt guid willie waught."

164. *call in question*] inquire into, discuss. We still speak of the subject of inquiry as being "in question."

Bru. With what addition?
Mes. That by proscription and bills of outlawry,
Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus
Have put to death an hundred senators.
Bru. Therein our letters do not well agree; 175
Mine speak of seventy senators that died
By their proscriptions, Cicero being one.
Cas. Cicero one!
Mes. Cicero is dead,
And by that order of proscription.
Had you your letters from your wife, my lord? 180
Bru. No, Messala.
Mes. Nor nothing in your letters writ of her?
Bru. Nothing, Messala.
Mes. That, methinks, is strange.
Bru. Why ask you? Hear you aught of her in yours?
Mes. No, my lord. 185
Bru. Now, as you are a Roman, tell me true.
Mes. Then like a Roman bear the truth I tell:
For certain she is dead, and by strange manner.
Bru. Why, farewell, Portia. We must die, Messala:
With meditating that she must die once, 190
I have the patience to endure it now.
Mes. Even so great men great losses should endure.

176. *seventy senators*] This discrepancy gives verisimilitude to the scene. Compare the conflicting tidings of the number of the Turkish fleet that came to the different senators in *Othello*, I. iii.

177. *Cicero being one*] "and among that number Cicero was one" (North's *Plutarch*). Skeat points this out as a remarkable instance of Shakespeare's verbal adherence to his original.

182. *Nor nothing*] It is almost impossible to account for this lie, by which Brutus makes Messala think that he had not already heard of his wife's death, and so gets more credit for stoicism than he really deserves. See Appendix.

190. *once*] some time. Compare *Merry Wives*, III. iv. 103: "I pray thee, once to-night Give my sweet Nan this ring."

Cas. I have as much of this in art as you,
But yet my nature could not bear it so.
Bru. Well, to our work alive. What do you think 195
Of marching to Philippi presently?
Cas. I do not think it good.
Bru. Your reason?
Cas. This it is:
'Tis better that the enemy seek us:
So shall he waste his means, weary his soldiers,
Doing himself offence; whilst we, lying still, 200
Are full of rest, defence, and nimbleness.
Bru. Good reasons must, of force, give place to better.
The people 'twixt Philippi and this ground
Do stand but in a forc'd affection;
For they have grudg'd us contribution: 205
The enemy, marching along by them,
By them shall make a fuller number up,
Come on refresh'd, new-added, and encourag'd;
From which advantage shall we cut him off,
If at Philippi we do face him there, 210

208. *new-added*] Capell, *new added* Ff, *new aided* Singer, *new-aided* Dyce.

193. *this*] philosophic self-restraint and mastery of the feelings.

193. *in art*] theoretically as opposed to "in practice." For the way in which nature in the excitement of passion and action refuses to obey the conclusions arrived at by the intellect in hours of calm meditation, compare Portia's remark in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 20: "The brain may devise laws for the blood, but a hot temper o'erleaps a cold decree," and Horace's "Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."

195. *to our work alive*] "let us proceed to our living business, to that which concerns the living, not the dead" (Craik). Compare how Mucklebackit returns to his "work alive" in the thirty-fourth chapter of Scott's *Antiquary*.

208. *new-added*] with new additions to their numbers. Compare "unlook'd" (*Richard III.* I. iii. 214) for "unlook'd for," and "death-practised" (*Lear*, IV. vi. 284) for "practised upon with a view to his death." Craik prefers "new-hearted," the reading of Collier's MS. "New-aided" seems better, as it only requires the alteration of a single letter.

These people at our back.

Cas. Hear me, good brother.

Bru. Under your pardon. You must note beside,
That we have tried the utmost of our friends,
Our legions are brim-full, our cause is ripe:
The enemy increaseth every day; 215
We, at the height, are ready to decline.
There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries. 220
On such a full sea are we now afloat;
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.

Cas. Then, with your will, go on;
We 'll along ourselves, and meet them at Philippi.

Bru. The deep of night is crept upon our talk, 225
And nature must obey necessity,

212. *Under your pardon*] excuse me, allow me to proceed.

217. *There is a tide*] The idea without the metaphor appears in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the Country:*

"There is an hour in each man's life appointed
To make his happiness, if then he seize it."

Skeat compares Chaucer's *Troilus and Creseide*, ii. 281:

"For to every wight some good aventure,
Some time is shape, if he can it receiven,"

which is again traceable to Boccaccio's *Filostrato.* Bacon employs the tide metaphor in the *Advancement of Learning*, where he speaks of the "peremptory tides and currents" of reputation, "which if they be not taken in their due time are seldom recovered."

219. *Omitted*] if the opportunity is neglected.

220. *in shallows and in miseries*] in shallows, that is to say, miseries. For the close combination of metaphorical and non-metaphorical terms, compare I. ii. 34.

223. *ventures*] merchandise risked in trade, as in *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 15, 21, 42.

223. *with your will, go on*] let us go on as you wish. Cassius yields rather than risk a second quarrel with Brutus.

226. *necessity*] For the necessity of rest, compare *Henry VIII.* v. i. 2: "These should be hours for necessities, Not for delights; times to repair our nature With comforting repose, and not for us To waste these times."

Which we will niggard with a little rest.
There is no more to say?

Cas. No more. Good night:
Early to-morrow will we rise, and hence.

Bru. Lucius! [*Re-enter Lucius.*
My gown. [*Exit Lucius.*
Farewell, good Messala: 230
Good night, Titinius. Noble, noble Cassius,
Good night, and good repose.

Cas. O my dear brother!
This was an ill beginning of the night:
Never come such division 'tween our souls!
Let it not, Brutus.

Bru. Every thing is well. 235

Cas. Good night, my lord.

Bru. Good night, good brother.

Tit., Mes. Good night, Lord Brutus.

Bru. Farewell, every one.
[*Exeunt Cassius, Titinius, and Messala.*

Re-enter LUCIUS, *with the gown.*

Give me the gown. Where is thy instrument?

Luc. Here in the tent.

Bru. What! thou speak'st drowsily?
Poor knave, I blame thee not; thou art o'er-
watch'd. 240

240. *not*] F 1; *art* F 2; omitted F 3, 4.

227. *niggard*] satisfy sparingly.

230. *gown*] night-gown. See beginning of Act II. Scene ii.

231. *Noble, noble*] most noble. See line 54 and note on II. ii. 102.

235. *Let it not, Brutus*] Notice the pathetic appeal enforced by the repetition and strengthened by the addition of his friend's name.

235. *Every thing is well*] all is well, no shadow of difference between us remains.

240. *knave*] boy, as in line 268.

240. *I blame thee not*] The reading

Call Claudius and some other of my men;
I'll have them sleep on cushions in my tent.

Luc. Varro! and Claudius!

Enter VARRO *and* CLAUDIUS.

Var. Calls my lord?

Bru. I pray you, sirs, lie in my tent and sleep: 245
It may be I shall raise you by and by
On business to my brother Cassius.

Var. So please you, we will stand and watch your pleasure.

Bru. I will not have it so; lie down, good sirs;
It may be I shall otherwise bethink me. 250
Look, Lucius, here's the book I sought for so;
I put it in the pocket of my gown.

[*Varro and Claudius lie down.*

Luc. I was sure your lordship did not give it me.

241, 243, 288, 289, 298. *Claudius*] *Claudio* Ff. 243, 288. *Varro*] *Varrus* Ff.

or the first Folio makes excellent sense. The second Folio follows the first, but instead of "not" gives the misprint "art." It is probable that the editors of the third Folio followed the second, but omitted the meaningless "art." The fourth Folio followed the third. It is, however, possible with little alteration to get good sense and metre out of the reading of the third and fourth Folios, if we read: "Poor knave, I blame thee! Thou art over-watched." For the construction, compare *Othello*, v. ii. 219: "'Twill out, 'twill out. I peace!" and Swift's indignant exclamation: "I to such blockheads set my wit!"

240. *o'erwatched*] wearied out with watching, as in *P. L.* ii. 288: "Seafaring men o'erwatched."

243. *Varro and Claudius*] appear in the Folio as Varrus and Claudio, the two names being misspelt in opposite ways. As the wrong spelling is not traceable to North, we may alter it.

250. *otherwise bethink me*] change my mind.

251. *Look, Lucius*] The conversation between Brutus and his attendant may be compared with that between Desdemona and her attendant, Aemilia, which has a similar position in the end of the fourth act of *Othello*. Both scenes are pervaded with a feeling of drowsiness and peaceful tranquillity, which agreeably relieves the strain to which our feelings are subjected by the highly-wrought scene that has gone before, and by the tragic conclusion of the drama which we know to be imminent. In both cases the ease and natural simplicity of the conversation conceal the dramatist's consummate art.

Bru. Bear with me, good boy, I am much forgetful.
Canst thou hold up thy heavy eyes awhile, 255
And touch thy instrument a strain or two?
Luc. Ay, my lord, an 't please you.
Bru. It does, my boy.
I trouble thee too much, but thou art willing.
Luc. It is my duty, sir.
Bru. I should not urge thy duty past thy might; 260
I know young bloods look for a time of rest.
Luc. I have slept, my lord, already.
Bru. It was well done, and thou shalt sleep again;
I will not hold thee long: if I do live,
I will be good to thee. [*Music, and a Song.* 265
This is a sleepy tune: O murderous slumber!
Lay'st thou thy leaden mace upon my boy,
That plays thee music? Gentle knave, good night;
I will not do thee so much wrong to wake thee.

266. *slumber*] F 3, 4; *slumbler* F 1, 2.

254. *Bear with me*] be patient with me.

266. *murderous*] because it is the "death of each day's life" (*Macbeth*, II. ii. 38), "death's counterfeit" (*Macbeth*, II. iii. 81). In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV. i. 86, sleep is said to "strike dead," and in *Tempest*, V. i. 230, men are said to be "dead of sleep."

267. *leaden mace*] expressive of the heaviness of deep sleep, when it "weighs the eyelids down" (*2 Henry IV.* III. i. 7). Compare also line 255 and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 365:

"Death counterfeiting sleep
With leaden legs."

Spenser gives Morpheus a leaden mace in the *Faerie Queene*, I. iv. xliv.:

"But whenas Morpheus with his leaden mace
Arrested all that courtly company."

In that passage, as in this, the metaphor compares sleep to an officer making an arrest with the mace, his symbol of authority, like the sergeant in the *Comedy of Errors*, IV. iii. 24, that "when gentlemen are tired, gives them a sob and 'rests them," and "sets up his rest to do more exploits with his mace than a morris pike." Dromio's play upon the different meanings of "'rest" and "rest" suggests the same comparison, which is also applied to death in *Hamlet*, V. ii. 348, where the "fell sergeant, Death, is strict in his arrest."

269.] Compare the story of

If thou dost nod, thou break'st thy instrument; 270
I 'll take it from thee; and, good boy, good night.
Let me see, let me see; is not the leaf turn'd down
Where I left reading? Here it is, I think.

Enter the Ghost of CÆSAR.

How ill this taper burns! Ha! who comes here?
I think it is the weakness of mine eyes 275
That shapes this monstrous apparition.
It comes upon me. Art thou any thing?
Art thou some god, some angel, or some devil,
That mak'st my blood cold and my hair to stare?
Speak to me what thou art. 280

Ghost. Thy evil spirit, Brutus.

Bru. Why com'st thou?

Ghost. To tell thee thou shalt see me at Philippi.

Bru. Well; then I shall see thee again?

Ghost. Ay, at Philippi.

Mahomet and the cat which was sleeping on the skirt of his robe when he had to go to prayers. Rather than disturb the cat, he cut off from his robe the piece of cloth on which the cat was lying.

272. *leaf turn'd down*] Ancient books were in the form of rolls and had no leaves to turn down.

274. *How ill this taper burns*] "The light of the lamp that waxed very dim" (Plutarch).

276. *apparition*] The apparition that appears is described in the stage-direction as "the ghost of Cæsar," and this is confirmed by v. v. 18. In Plutarch we are told that "a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness and dreadful look," appeared to Brutus, but it is not called Cæsar's ghost.

277. *Art thou any thing?*] In Plutarch, Cassius discussing the vision tells Brutus that according to the Epicureans the senses, when idle, "are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that which in truth they do not."

279. *stare*] stand on end. Compare *Tempest*, I. ii. 213: "With hair upstaring." In *Hamlet*, I. v. 18, the ghost says that the tale of the secrets of his prison-house would make his hearer's

"knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine."

Bru. Why, I will see thee at Philippi then. 285
[*Ghost vanishes.*
Now I have taken heart thou vanishest:
Ill spirit, I would hold more talk with thee.
Boy! Lucius! Varro! Claudius! Sirs, awake!
Claudius!
Luc. The strings, my lord, are false. 290
Bru. He thinks he still is at his instrument.
Lucius, awake!
Luc. My lord!
Bru. Didst thou dream, Lucius, that thou so criedst out?
Luc. My lord, I do not know that I did cry. 295
Bru. Yes, that thou didst. Didst thou see anything?
Luc. Nothing, my lord.
Bru. Sleep again, Lucius. Sirrah, Claudius!
[*To Varro.*] Fellow thou! awake!
Var. My lord! 300
Clau. My lord!
Bru. Why did you so cry out, sirs, in your sleep?
Var., Clau. Did we, my lord?
Bru. Ay: saw you any thing?
Var. No, my lord, I saw nothing.
Clau. Nor I, my lord.
Bru. Go and commend me to my brother Cassius; 305
Bid him set on his powers betimes before,
And we will follow.
Var., Clau. It shall be done, my lord.
[*Exeunt.*

285. *I will see thee*] This composed remark indicates the absence of fear.

285. *then*] in that case. Brutus is not alarmed with vague fears on account of the apparition.

306. *powers*] forces.

ACT V

SCENE I.—*The Plains of Philippi.*

Enter OCTAVIUS, ANTONY, *and their Army.*

Oct. Now, Antony, our hopes are answered:
You said the enemy would not come down,
But keep the hills and upper regions;
It proves not so; their battles are at hand;
They mean to warn us at Philippi here, 5
Answering before we do demand of them.

Ant. Tut! I am in their bosoms, and I know
Wherefore they do it: they could be content
To visit other places; and come down
With fearful bravery, thinking by this face 10
To fasten in our thoughts that they have courage;
But 'tis not so.

4. *battles*] battalions.

5. *warn us*] summon us to battle. Compare *King John*, II. i. 201: "Who is it that hath warn'd us to the walls." This meaning of "warn" still survives in Cumberland, where people are "warned" to attend funerals.

6. *Answering, etc.*] accepting our intended summons to battle before we have delivered it. Compare *Tempest*, IV. i. 128: "Answer your summons."

7. *I am in their bosoms*] I know the secrets of their hearts.

8. *they could be content, etc.*] although they would be well pleased to go elsewhere, they come down to meet us with warlike pomp intended to inspire fear. "Fearful bravery" is equivalent to "gallant show" in line 13 and to Byron's "war's magnificently stern array." "Bravery" here expresses "outward splendour," "ostentation," as in *Hamlet*, V. ii. 79:

"But, sure, the bravery of his grief
did put me
Into a towering passion,"

and also "bravado," "defiance," as in *Othello*, I. i. 100:

"Upon malicious bravery dost thou
come
To start my quiet."

Compare the use of the verb "brave" in IV. iii. 95. Craik takes "fearful bravery" as an oxymoron meaning "bravery in show or appearance which yet is full of real fear or apprehension," which is supported by Steevens' quotation from Sidney's *Arcadia*, "a fearful boldness, daring to do that which she knew that she knew not how to do."

10. *face*] appearance.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Prepare you, generals:
The enemy comes on in gallant show;
Their bloody sign of battle is hung out,
And something to be done immediately. 15

Ant. Octavius, lead your battle softly on,
Upon the left hand of the even field.

Oct. Upon the right hand I; keep thou the left.

Ant. Why do you cross me in this exigent?

Oct. I do not cross you; but I will do so. [*March.* 20

Drum. Enter BRUTUS, CASSIUS, *and their Army;* LUCILIUS, TITINIUS, MESSALA, *and Others.*

Bru. They stand, and would have parley.

17. *even*] F 1, 2, 3; *evil* F 4.

14. *bloody*] A red flag was the sign of battle among the Romans. "By break of day the signal of battle was set out in Brutus' and Cassius' camp, which was an arming scarlet cloak" (Plutarch).

18. *Upon the right hand I*] In Plutarch Brutus insists upon commanding the right wing, though the post was thought more proper for Cassius on account of his experience, but there is no mention of a similar controversy between Antony and Octavius. The change may simply be an oversight or, if we accept the usual interpretation of line 20, it may be due to the desire to illustrate the inferiority of the genius of Antony when opposed to Octavius, which is derived from Plutarch and is referred to in *Macbeth*, III. i. 56, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. iii. 19–23.

19. *exigent*] critical time, emergency. "Instead of doing anything as the exigent required, he began to make circles" (Sidney's *Arcadia*).

20. *I do not cross you*] This is generally understood to mean that Octavius insists on commanding the right wing, but not with any perverse intention of thwarting Antony's wishes. Rolfe, however, supposes that Octavius yields to Antony, and does it readily with a play upon "cross": "I do not cross you (in Antony's sense of the word), but I *will* cross you (in the sense of crossing over to the other side of the field)"; and with the word he *does* cross over. According to Plutarch, he commanded the left wing, so that this interpretation, as Rolfe points out, makes the play agree with the history. Another way to reconcile the play with history is to understand the whole or part of the line to be an "aside," as suggested in *Notes and Queries*, 25th July, 1891. The meaning then will be that Octavius forbears to cross Antony now, when union is necessary for victory, but with foresight of the coming struggle intends to do so at some future period. This seems better than attributing a gay play upon words to such a "dull cold-blooded Cæsar."

Cas. Stand fast, Titinius; we must out and talk.
Oct. Mark Antony, shall we give sign of battle?
Ant. No, Cæsar, we will answer on their charge.
Make forth; the generals would have some words. 25
Oct. Stir not until the signal.
Bru. Words before blows: is it so, countrymen?
Oct. Not that we love words better, as you do.
Bru. Good words are better than bad strokes, Octavius.
Ant. In your bad strokes, Brutus, you give good words: 30
Witness the hole you made in Cæsar's heart,
Crying "Long live! hail, Cæsar!"
Cas. Antony,
The posture of your blows are yet unknown;
But for your words, they rob the Hybla bees,
And leave them honeyless.

24. *answer on their charge*] meet them in accordance with their summons, *i.e.* we will first accept their invitation to a parley, or, "we will wait till they begin to advance" (Craik). The latter interpretation is preferable, as the former makes line 25 tautological, unless it is addressed to the captains and not to Octavius. "Answer" expresses meeting the attack of an enemy in *Troilus ana Cressida*, I. iii. 171: "Arming to answer in a night alarm." The noun "answer" expresses the return blow in fencing in *Twelfth Night*, III. iv. 305.

25. *Make forth*] let us advance. See note on II. i. 28. "Stir not" in the next line is in the second person and is addressed to the soldiers.

33. *The posture of your blows*] your manner of dealing blows. Compare *Henry V.* IV. Prologue, 51, and *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. v. 116: "His blows are well disposed." As Antony's prowess was well known, we must understand "unknown" with rererence to the speakers as meaning "unknown to us." It has been proposed to alter "posture" into "puncture" or "nature."

33. *are*] This is one of the several cases in Shakespeare in which verbs wrongly agree in number with the immediately preceding noun, although it is not the subject. Compare *Winter's Tale*, IV. ii. 26: "Whose loss of his most precious queen and children are even now to be afresh lamented."

34. *Hybla*] a town of Sicily famous for its honey.

34. *Hybla bees*] See note on v. 19.

35. *leave them honeyless*] For the comparison of the sweetness of words to honey, compare "sweet and honey'd

Ant. Not stingless too? 35

Bru. O! yes, and soundless too;
For you have stol'n their buzzing, Antony,
And very wisely threat before you sting.

Ant. Villains! you did not so when your vile daggers
Hack'd one another in the sides of Cæsar: 40
You show'd your teeth like apes, and fawn'd like hounds,
And bow'd like bondmen, kissing Cæsar's feet;
Whilst damned Casca, like a cur, behind,
Struck Cæsar on the neck. O you flatterers

Cas. Flatterers! Now, Brutus, thank yourself: 45
This tongue had not offended so to-day,
If Cassius might have rul'd.

35. *too?*] *too.* Ff.

sentences" (*Henry V.* I. i. 50), "the bait of honey'd words" (*Samson Agonistes*, 1066), and *Iliad*, i. 249. Cassius is referring to the persuasive eloquence by which Antony had roused the populace of Rome against the conspirators.

35. *Not stingless too?*] Do not they also leave the bees stingless? A note of interrogation is certainly required. The question expects an affirmative answer. Antony means that his words, *e.g.*, the taunt in 30–32, are stinging words—that, if they have sometimes the sweetness, they have also the stinging power of bees.

38. *very wisely*] This is an insinuation that Antony hopes that his threats will frighten the conspirators so that they will make terms instead of fighting, and that he is wise in doing so, as he cannot hope for victory in battle. Antony, however, has not uttered any threats.

38. *sting*] here expresses hostile action, not, as in 35, cutting words.

40. *Hack'd one another*] powerfully expresses the savage fury of the attack and the number of the assassins. Plutarch says that "the conspirators thronging one upon another, because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another."

41. *show'd your teeth*] which generally expresses the way in which dogs show their anger by raising their upper lips, here describes the hypocritical smiles of the conspirators.

41. *fawn'd like hounds*] Compare III. i. 45.

47. *If Cassius might have rul'd*] If the advice of Cassius had been followed, they would not have met the enemy until a later date, and Antony would have been in such a hopeless position, that his language would have been more humble. See IV. iii. 197. Others suppose Cassius to refer to the overruling of his advice in II. i. 162. See also III. i.

Oct. Come, come, the cause: if arguing make us sweat,
The proof of it will turn to redder drops.
Look; 50
I draw a sword against conspirators;
When think you that the sword goes up again?
Never, till Cæsar's three-and-thirty wounds
Be well aveng'd; or till another Cæsar
Have added slaughter to the sword of traitors. 55
Bru. Cæsar, thou canst not die by traitors' hands,
Unless thou bring'st them with thee.
Oct. So I hope;
I was not born to die on Brutus' sword.
Bru. O! if thou wert the noblest of thy strain,
Young man, thou could'st not die more honourable. 60
Cas. A peevish school-boy, worthless of such honour,

53. *thirty*] Ff, *twenty* Theobald.

232. If Cassius had had his way on any one of these three occasions, Antony's tongue would not have offended so on that day.

48. *Come, come, the cause*] Come, let us attend to the business we have in hand, namely, fighting as opposed to talking. For this use of "cause," compare *Lucrece*, 1295, and *Henry V.* II. ii. 60: "Now to our French causes. Who are the late commissioners?"

49. *will turn to redder drops*] because it will be decided by a bloody battle.

52. *goes up again*] returns to its scabbard. Compare *Othello*, I. ii. 59: "Keep up your bright swords, for the dew will rust them."

53. *three-and-thirty*] was altered by Theobald into "three-and-twenty," because that is mentioned as the number of Cæsar's wounds in Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*. But exactness is not to be insisted on in such a matter. We are told that Cæsar's wounds were two-and-thirty in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble Gentleman*, V. i.

55. *Have added slaughter*] have added another death to the blood already shed by the swords of you traitors.

57. *So I hope*] He brings no traitors with him. Therefore, if what Brutus says is true, he will live for ever.

60. *more honourable*] more honourably. Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. ii. 98, "'Tis noble spoken." This usage still survives as a vulgarism. Compare line 77.

61. *school-boy*] Augustus was in his twenty-first year at the battle of Philippi.

Join'd with a masker and a reveller.

Ant. Old Cassius still!

Oct. Come, Antony; away!
Defiance, traitors, hurl we in your teeth.
If you dare fight to-day, come to the field; 65
If not, when you have stomachs.

[*Exeunt Octavius, Antony, and their Army.*

Cas. Why now, blow wind, swell billow, and swim bark!
The storm is up, and all is on the hazard.

Bru. Ho!
Lucilius, hark, a word with you.

Lucil. My lord! 70

[*Brutus and Lucilius talk apart.*

Cas. Messala!

Mes. What says my general?

Cas. Messala,
This is my birth-day; as this very day
Was Cassius born. Give me thy hand, Messala:
Be thou my witness that against my will,
As Pompey was, am I compell'd to set 75

63. *Old Cassius still!*] Cassius is still the same man as he was of old. See I. ii. 200, 201; *3 Henry VI.* v. i. 47.

66. *stomachs*] inclination. Compare *Henry V.* IV. iii. 35:

"he which hath no stomach
to this fight
Let him depart."

70. *a word with you*] We do not know what Brutus had to say to Lucilius, as Shakespeare gives us the conversation between Cassius and Messala which took place at the same time, and the conditions of dramatic representation do not allow two conversations to be heard at once. Compare II. i. 100.

71. *my general*] Plutarch relates that even in the days of the empire Messala spoke of Cassius as "my general." See also Tacitus, *Annals*, IV. xxxiv. 6.

72. *as*] For this redundant use of "as," with adverbial expressions of time, which still survives in "as yet," see Abbott, sec. 114, and Dowden's note on *Romeo and Juliet*, v. iii. 247, "That he should hither come as this dire night."

75. *As Pompey was*] *sc.* at Pharsalia, where the nobles persuaded him to give battle against his better judgment. Shakespeare here follows closely the words of North's *Plutarch:*

Upon one battle all our liberties.
You know that I held Epicurus strong,
And his opinion; now I change my mind,
And partly credit things that do presage.
Coming from Sardis, on our former ensign 80
Two mighty eagles fell, and there they perch'd,
Gorging and feeding from our soldiers' hands;
Who to Philippi here consorted us:
This morning are they fled away and gone,
And in their steads do ravens, crows, and kites 85
Fly o'er our heads, and downward look on us,
As we were sickly prey: their shadows seem
A canopy most fatal, under which
Our army lies, ready to give up the ghost.

Mes. Believe not so.

Cas. I but believe it partly, 90
For I am fresh of spirit and resolv'd

"Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witness that I am compelled against my mind and will (as Pompey the Great was) to jeopard the liberty of our country to the hazard of a battle."

75. *set*] = North's "jeopard." Compare *Richard III.* v. iv. 9:

"I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die."

77. *You*] The change from "thy" (73) and "thou" (74) to "you" is justified by the fact that Cassius is now not making an impassioned appeal to a beloved friend, but only explaining his state of mind.

77. *I held Epicurus strong*] I held firmly the opinion of Epicurus. The Epicureans did not believe in omens and portents.

78. *his opinion*] his disbelief in all kinds of omens.

80. *former ensign*] the ensign of the vanguard, which Cassius commanded. See IV. iii. 306. Plutarch says that the eagles lighted on "two of their foremost ensigns."

85. *ravens*] birds of ill omen, as in *Othello*, IV. i. 21. For their anticipation of the death of their prey, compare *King John*, IV. iii. 153.

86. *Fly o'er our heads*] Compare *Henry V.* IV. ii. 51:

"And their executors the knavish crows,
Fly o'er them all impatient for their hour."

87. *As*] as if. But see Abbott, sec. 107.

To meet all perils very constantly.

Bru. Even so, Lucilius.

Cas. Now, most noble Brutus,
The gods to-day stand friendly, that we may,
Lovers in peace, lead on our days to age! 95
But since the affairs of men rests still incertain,
Let 's reason with the worst that may befall.
If we do lose this battle, then is this
The very last time we shall speak together:
What are you then determined to do? 100

Bru. Even by the rule of that philosophy
By which I did blame Cato for the death
Which he did give himself, I know not how,
But I do find it cowardly and vile,

92. *perils*] F 1; *peril* F 2, 3, 4. editors. 103. *how,*] *how:* Ff.

96. *rests*] Ff, *rest* Rowe and later

92. *constantly*] firmly. See II. i. 227.

93. *Even so, Lucilius*] Brutus refers to the instructions that he has been giving to Lucilius while Cassius was speaking to Messala.

94. *stand*] subjunctive used optatively.

96. *rests*] For "rest" in the sense of the Latin *resto*, remain, compare *Othello*, v. ii. 335: "Close prisoner rest." For the suffix "s," see note on I. iii. 138. Many editors in such passages regard the "s" as a misprint. But sometimes the suffix is required by the rhyme, as in *Macbeth*, II. i. 59, 60:

> "Whiles I threat, he lives:
> Words to the heat of deeds too cold breath gives."

97. *Let's reason, etc.*] let us consider what is to be done if the worst shall happen.

100.] This line is almost word for word from North's *Plutarch*, in which Cassius asks, "What art thou then determined to do?"

101. *Even by the rule, etc.*] in accordance with the philosophical principles that made me condemn Cato, I somehow regard it as cowardly to anticipate the hour of death, and I fortify myself with patience to wait for the time of death appointed by the higher powers. This answer implies that even if the battle is lost, Brutus will not think himself justified in committing suicide. Johnson makes Brutus reply more directly to the question put to him. He regards "I know not how . . . time of life" as a parenthesis, and makes "to stay" depend not upon "patience," but upon "I am determined" understood from line 100. If this is the construction intended, we must put a comma after "patience."

102.] See Appendix.

102. *Cato*] the younger, whose suicide at Utica forms the subject of Addison's drama.

For fear of what might fall, so to prevent 105
The time of life, arming myself with patience
To stay the providence of some high powers
That govern us below.

Cas. Then, if we lose this battle,
You are contented to be led in triumph
Thorough the streets of Rome? 110

Bru. No, Cassius, no: think not, thou noble Roman,
That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome;
He bears too great a mind: but this same day
Must end that work the ides of March begun;
And whether we shall meet again I know not. 115
Therefore our everlasting farewell take:
For ever, and for ever, farewell, Cassius!
If we do meet again, why, we shall smile;
If not, why then this parting was well made.

Cas. For ever, and for ever, farewell, Brutus! 120
If we do meet again, we'll smile indeed;
If not, 'tis true this parting was well made.

106. *life,*] Ff, *life ;* Theobald.
107. *some*] Ff; *those* Craik, Collier MS.
110. *Rome ?*] Theobald, *Rome.* Ff.
114. *the*] F 1; *that* F 2, 3, 4.

105. *For fear of what might fall*] Compare Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book iv.: "The killing of one's self is but a false colour of true courage, proceeding rather of a fear of further evil, either of torment or shame."

105, 106. *prevent The time of life*] anticipate the full time of life, the completion of life. Capell and Collier's MS. corrector read "term of life," which is easier.

107. *stay the providence*] wait for the time determined by the wisdom of the higher powers. "Some" indicates the indefiniteness of the conceptions of the gods held by the Platonists and Stoics, who believed in the providential rule of the gods, but did not accept the gods of the popular mythology. For this use of "stay," compare *Othello*, IV. ii. 170: "The messengers of Venice stay the meat."

114. *Must end that work*] Brutus does not intend to commit suicide. He thinks that he will either be killed in battle or gain a glorious victory. It is part of his punishment, that he is eventually driven to kill himself in spite of his philosophical condemnation of suicide.

118. *smile*] *sc.* at the useless solemnity of our leave-taking. Compare II. i. 191, and *Æneid*, i. 203: "Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit."

Bru. Why then, lead on. O! that a man might know
The end of this day's business ere it come;
But it sufficeth that the day will end, 125
And then the end is known. Come, ho! away!
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*The Same. The Field of Battle.*

Alarum. Enter BRUTUS *and* MESSALA.

Bru. Ride, ride, Messala, ride, and give these bills
Unto the legions on the other side. [*Loud alarum.*
Let them set on at once, for I perceive
But cold demeanour in Octavius' wing,
And sudden push gives them the overthrow.
Ride, ride, Messala: let them all come down.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*Another Part of the Field.*

Alarum. Enter CASSIUS *and* TITINIUS.

Cas. O! look, Titinius, look, the villains fly:
Myself have to mine own turn'd enemy;
This ensign here of mine was turning back;

Scene II.

4. *Octavius'*] *Octavio's* Ff.

123. *O! that a man, etc.*] Compare *2 Henry IV.* III. i. 45: "O Heaven, that one might read the book of fate."

Scene II.

1. *bills*] written orders. See Plutarch's account of the battle.

2. *the legions on the other side*] those under Cassius who commanded the left wing.

4. *cold demeanour*] a deficiency of warlike spirit.

4. *Octavius*] This is the only place in the text in which the Folios have "Octavio" instead of "Octavius." See note on I. ii. 3.

Scene III.

3. *ensign*] may mean either "standard-bearer" or "standard"

I slew the coward, and did take it from him.

Tit. O Cassius! Brutus gave the word too early; 5
Who, having some advantage on Octavius,
Took it too eagerly: his soldiers fell to spoil,
Whilst we by Antony are all enclos'd.

Enter PINDARUS.

Pin. Fly further off, my lord, fly further off;
Mark Antony is in your tents, my lord! 10
Fly, therefore, noble Cassius, fly far off.

Cas. This hill is far enough. Look, look, Titinius;
Are those my tents where I perceive the fire?

Tit. They are, my lord.

Cas. Titinius, if thou lov'st me,
Mount thou my horse, and hide thy spurs in him, 15
Till he have brought thee up to yonder troops
And here again; that I may rest assur'd
Whether yond troops are friend or enemy.

Tit. I will be here again, even with a thought. [*Exit.*

Cas. Go, Pindarus, get higher on that hill; 20
My sight was ever thick; regard Titinius,

20. *higher*] F 1; *thither* F 2, 3, 4.

in this passage. If it means "standard-bearer," then "it" in the next line stands for the standard suggested, but not expressed by the word. If it means "standard," then "the coward" is the cowardly standard-bearer implied in the standard turning back. In the former case we must understand from "this" that Cassius points to the standard-bearer lying dead at his feet. In the latter case "this" indicates that Cassius held the standard in his hand, or rather that, as Plutarch records, he had "stuck it fast at his feet."

19. *even with a thought*] as quick as thought. Compare *Odyssey*, vii. 36; *Iliad*, xv. 80, 82; *Macbeth*, III. iv. 55; and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, I. i.:

"The light shadows
That in a thought scur o'er the fields of corn."

21. *thick*] dim. Compare *Taming of the Shrew*, V. ii. 143:

"like a fountain troubled,
Muddy, ill-seeming, thick";

and "thick-eyed musing," *1 Henry IV.* II. iii. 49. Plutarch says that

And tell me what thou not'st about the field.

[*Pindarus ascends the hill.*

This day I breathed first; time is come round,
And where I did begin, there shall I end;
My life is run his compass. Sirrah, what news? 25

Pin. [*Above.*] O my lord!

Cas. What news?

Pin. Titinius is enclosed round about
With horsemen, that make to him on the spur;
Yet he spurs on: now they are almost on him. 30
Now, Titinius! now some light: O! he lights too:
He 's ta'en! [*Shout.*
And, hark! they shout for joy.

Cas. Come down; behold no more.
O! coward that I am, to live so long,
To see my best friend ta'en before my face. 35

[*Pindarus descends.*

Come hither, sirrah.
In Parthia did I take thee prisoner;
And then I swore thee, saving of thy life,
That whatsoever I did bid thee do,

"Cassius himself saw nothing, for his sight was very bad."

23. *I breathed first*] See i. 72.

25. *his compass*] its complete course. For "his," see note on I. ii. 123.

25. *Sirrah*] This modification of "sir" is used in addressing inferiors, as in III. i. 10, IV. iii. 133.

31. *Now, Titinius!*] He means that now is the time for Titinius to turn and fly to his friends. He shows his intense interest in Titinius' movements by addressing him aloud, although his voice could not possibly be heard at such a distance.

34. *O! coward that I am*] "Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken" (Plutarch).

38. *swore thee*] made thee swear.

38. *saving of thy life*] Compare *Lear*, II. i. 41, "Here stood he mumbling of wicked charms," and other instances given in Abbott, sec. 178. The participle is confused with and given the construction of a verbal noun. This is one of the many cases in which a Shakespearian usage survives as a vulgarism. Compare i. 60.

Thou should'st attempt it. Come now, keep thine oath; 40
Now be a freeman; and with this good sword,
That ran through Cæsar's bowels, search this bosom.
Stand not to answer; here, take thou the hilts;
And, when my face is cover'd, as 'tis now,
Guide thou the sword. Cæsar, thou art reveng'd, 45
Even with the sword that kill'd thee. [*Dies.*

Pin. So, I am free; yet would not so have been,
Durst I have done my will. O Cassius!
Far from this country Pindarus shall run,
Where never Roman shall take note of him. 50
[*Exit.*

Re-enter TITINIUS *with* MESSALA.

Mes. It is but change, Titinius; for Octavius
Is overthrown by noble Brutus' power,
As Cassius' legions are by Antony.

Tit. These tidings will well comfort Cassius.

Mes. Where did you leave him?

41. *be a freeman*] earn thy freedom by killing me. See 47.

42. *ran through Cæsar's bowels*] This poetical retribution comes from Plutarch, who relates that Cassius "slew himself with the same sword with the which he strake Cæsar." We may say of Cassius' death, as Othello does of what he thought a similarly exact retribution, "Good, good; the justice of it pleases; very good" (*Othello*, IV. i. 222). Plutarch relates that Callipus, who plotted the murder of Dion, was slain with the very same sword with which Dion had been assassinated.

43. *hilts*] Compare v. 28. The plural is used because the handle of a single sword consists of many parts.

44. *when my face is cover'd*] See note on III. ii. 194.

49. *Pindarus shall run*] "After that time Pindarus was seen no more. Whereupon some took occasion to say that he had slain his master without his commandment" (Plutarch).

51. *change*] exchange, as opposed to distinct gain for either side. The victory of Brutus could be set against the victory of Antony.

Tit. All disconsolate, 55
With Pindarus his bondman, on this hill.
Mes. Is not that he that lies upon the ground?
Tit. He lies not like the living. O my heart!
Mes. Is not that he?
Tit. No, this was he, Messala,
But Cassius is no more. O setting sun! 60
As in thy red rays thou dost sink to night,
So in his red blood Cassius' day is set;
The sun of Rome is set. Our day is gone;
Clouds, dews, and dangers come; our deeds are done.
Mistrust of my success hath done this deed. 65
Mes. Mistrust of good success hath done this deed.
O hateful error, melancholy's child!
Why dost thou show to the apt thoughts of men
The things that are not? O error! soon conceiv'd,
Thou never com'st unto a happy birth, 70
But kill'st the mother that engender'd thee.

59. *this was he*] For the use of the past tense, compare *Æneid*, ii. 325: "Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium."

60. *O setting sun!*] This address to the setting sun is quite inconsistent with line 109, in which we learn that it is only three o'clock in the afternoon. See *post*, p. 180.

61. *sink to night*] descend into the darkness of night. There is some confusion of ideas in the image, as wherever the sun goes there can be no night. This confusion is avoided by Knight, who reads "to-night," but the alteration weakens the force of the line.

62. *So in his red blood*] For the comparison of a dying warrior to the setting sun, compare *Troilus and Cressida*, v. viii. 5–8, and *Rokeby*, VI. xxi. 19–26.

66. *Mistrust, etc.*] The last words of Titinius are repeated by Messala as a text for his melancholy reflections. Compare II. i. 48. Owing to the change of speakers "my" has to disappear, and is replaced by "good" without alteration of the meaning, although the application of the epithet "good" to success indicates that in Shakespeare's time "success" meant a result which might be either good or bad. Compare II. ii. 6.

67. *melancholy's child*] because despondent people imagine evil that does not exist.

71. *the mother that engender'd thee*] the person that conceived the error and is ruined by it. It is rather confusing to have two different mothers assigned to Error in one short speech.

Tit. What, Pindarus! Where art thou, Pindarus?
Mes. Seek him, Titinius, whilst I go to meet
The noble Brutus, thrusting this report
Into his ears; I may say, thrusting it; 75
For piercing steel and darts envenomed
Shall be as welcome to the ears of Brutus
As tidings of this sight.
Tit. Hie you, Messala,
And I will seek for Pindarus the while.
[*Exit Messala.*
Why didst thou send me forth, brave Cassius? 80
Did I not meet thy friends? and did not they
Put on my brows this wreath of victory,
And bid me give it thee? Didst thou not hear their shouts?
Alas! thou hast misconstrued every thing.
But hold thee, take this garland on thy brow; 85
Thy Brutus bid me give it thee, and I
Will do his bidding. Brutus, come apace,
And see how I regarded Caius Cassius.
By your leave, gods: this is a Roman's part:
Come, Cassius' sword, and find Titinius' heart. 90
[*Kills himself.*

72. *What*] See note on II. i. 1.

74. *thrusting*] Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, II v. 24.

85. *hold thee*] hold thou, *i.e.* do thou receive. The subject takes the objective form, because it follows the verb and has the usual place of the object. Compare "Hold thee, there's my purse" (*All's Well*, IV. v. 46), "Come thee on" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. vii. 16), "hark thee," "haste thee," "look thee," and "fare thee well" (99).

88. *regarded*] honoured, as in *Coriolanus*, V. vi. 143.

89. *By your leave, gods*] In accordance with the Platonic view referred to in i. 101, Titinius implies that he cannot voluntarily depart from life without the permission of the gods.

89. *a Roman's part*] Compare *Macbeth*, V. viii. 1:

"Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
On mine own sword?"

Alarum. Re-enter MESSALA, *with* BRUTUS, CATO, STRATO, VOLUMNIUS, *and* LUCILIUS.

Bru. Where, where, Messala, doth his body lie?
Mes. Lo, yonder; and Titinius mourning it.
Bru. Titinius' face is upward.
Cato. He is slain.
Bru. O Julius Cæsar! thou art mighty yet:
Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords 95
In our own proper entrails. [*Low alarums.*
Cato. Brave Titinius!
Look! whether he have not crown'd dead Cassius.
Bru. Are yet two Romans living such as these?
The last of all the Romans, fare thee well!
It is impossible that ever Rome 100
Should breed thy fellow. Friends, I owe more tears

97. *whether*] *where* Ff. 99. *The*] Ff, *Thou* Rowe.

96. *proper*] here, as in I. ii. 40, is used in the sense of the Latin *proprius* and means "own." It is therefore redundant.

96. *entrails*] Compare *Æneid*, vi. 834: "Neu patriæ validas in viscera vertite vires."

97. *whether*] See note on I. i. 66.

99. *The*] unnecessarily altered into "thou" by some editors. "The" goes with vocatives, probably, in *Lear*, I. i. 271, and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, V. iii.: "I'll treat thee like thyself, the valiant Briton," and certainly in *3 Henry VI.* V. v. 38, "Take that, the likeness of this railer here," and in *Cymbeline*, III. ii. 42, "You, O the dearest of creatures," unless "the" is to be regarded as a misprint for "thou" or "you" in all these passages. Even if "the" could not be used in the vocative case, "The last" may be regarded as in apposition to "thee," or "The last of all the Romans" may be an exclamation. Shakespeare naturally wished to incorporate in his verse, without omitting the definite article emphasising the superlative, the noble title of praise which was conferred on Cassius by Brutus, and by which he is often spoken of in history. Plutarch tells us that in like manner a certain Roman called Philopœmen "the last of the Greeks, meaning that Greece had not produced one great man, or one that was worthy of her, after him."

100. *It is impossible*] "Being impossible that Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he" (Plutarch).

To this dead man than you shall see me pay.
I shall find time, Cassius, I shall find time.
Come therefore, and to Thassos send his body:
His funerals shall not be in our camp, 105
Lest it discomfort us. Lucilius, come;
And come, young Cato; let us to the field.
Labio and Flavius, set our battles on:
'Tis three a clock; and, Romans, yet ere night
We shall try fortune in a second fight. 110
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.—*Another Part of the Field.*

Alarum. Enter fighting, Soldiers of both Armies; then BRUTUS, CATO, LUCILIUS, *and Others.*

Bru. Yet, countrymen, O! yet hold up your heads.
Cato. What bastard doth not? Who will go with me?

104. *Thassos*] Theobald, *Tharsus* Ff. 108. *Labio*] Ff, *Labeo* Hanmer and later editors; *Flavius,*] F 4; *Flavius* F 2, 3; *Flavio* F 1. 109. *a clock*] Ff, *o'clock* Theobald and later editors.

104. *Thassos*] is the name given by North. Thassos or Thasos was the name of an island near Philippi, while Tharsus, the reading of the Folio, is another way of spelling Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, or another Tarsus in Bithynia, both which towns were at a great distance.

105. *funerals*] appears in the plural in the parallel passage in North's *Plutarch* and in *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 381.

106. *discomfort*] discourage, as in *Troilus and Cressida*, V. x. 10: "My lord, you do discomfort all the host."

108. *Labio*] This wrong spelling of Labeo is retained in the text, because it is also found in North. See note on I. ii. 3.

109. *a clock*] See note on II. ii. 114. "Three a clock" is inconsistent with the reference to the setting sun in line 60. The mention of this definite hour is a reminiscence of Plutarch's account of the second battle of Philippi, where we are told that Brutus "suddenly caused his army to march, being past three of the clock in the afternoon," and so began the battle.

109. *ere night*] In history there was an interval of twenty days between the two battles at Philippi.

Scene IV.

2. *What bastard doth not?*] who is such a bastard that he does not do so? See II. i. 138 and IV. iii. 20.

I will proclaim my name about the field:
I am the son of Marcus Cato, ho!
A foe to tyrants, and my country's friend; 5
I am the son of Marcus Cato, ho!

Lucil. And I am Brutus, Marcus Brutus, I;
Brutus, my country's friend; know me for Brutus.
O young and noble Cato! art thou down?
Why, now thou diest as bravely as Titinius, 10
And may'st be honour'd, being Cato's son.

First Sold. Yield, or thou diest.

Lucil. Only I yield to die:
There is so much that thou wilt kill me straight.
[*Offering money.*
Kill Brutus, and be honour'd in his death.

First Sold. We must not. A noble prisoner! 15

Second Sold. Room, ho! Tell Antony, Brutus is ta'en.

First Sold. I 'll tell the news. Here comes the general.

7. Lucil.] is omitted and "Luc." is inserted before line 9 in Ff. 15. *not*] Ff, *not*, *sir* Capell. 17. *the*] Pope, *thee* Ff.

7, 8.] The name of the speaker of these two lines is omitted in the Folios. They are by almost all editors assigned to Brutus. But Brutus was so well known that it is strange that he should tell his name with such emphasis, and it is still more strange that he should follow the lead of such a young man as Cato. The iteration of the name Brutus sounds like the language of a man who was pretending to be what he was not. The ascription of these two lines to Lucilius would make the motive and action of Lucilius much plainer to the audience, who would have some difficulty in taking in the situation with only the words "Kill Brutus" in line 14 to enlighten them. It seems probable that the printers of the Folio by mistake put the heading "*Luc.*" two lines too low down. The stage-direction *exit*, found in almost all modern editions after line 8, is not in the Folios.

13. *so much*] *sc.* money. The offer of money in the stage-direction is, however, an addition made by Hanmer and Johnson to explain the passage. Possibly Lucilius, speaking in the character of Brutus, means that so much can be laid to his charge that the soldier is sure to kill him immediately.

Enter ANTONY.

Brutus is ta'en, Brutus is ta'en, my lord.
Ant. Where is he?
Lucil. Safe, Antony; Brutus is safe enough. 20
I dare assure thee that no enemy
Shall ever take alive the noble Brutus;
The gods defend him from so great a shame!
When you do find him, or alive or dead,
He will be found like Brutus, like himself. 25
Ant. This is not Brutus, friend; but, I assure you,
A prize no less in worth. Keep this man safe;
Give him all kindness: I had rather have
Such men my friends than enemies. Go on,
And see whether Brutus be alive or dead; 30
And bring us word unto Octavius' tent
How every thing is chanc'd. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.—*Another Part of the Field.*

Enter BRUTUS, DARDANIUS, CLITUS, STRATO, *and* VOLUMNIUS.

Bru. Come, poor remains of friends, rest on this rock.
Cli. Statilius show'd the torch-light, but, my lord,
He came not back; he is or ta'en or slain.

30. *whether*] *where* Ff; *dead ;*] *dead*, Ff. 31. *word*] *word*, F 1; omitted in F 2, 3, 4; *tent*] *tent:* F 1; *tent*, F 2, 3, 4.

30. *whether*] See note on I. i. 66.

32. *is chanc'd*] has happened. Compare I. ii. 213.

Scene V.

2. *show'd the torch-light*] He had been sent to the camp with a torch, which he was to hold up if he found all well there.

3. *or . . . or*] Compare *Henry V*, I. ii. 12:

"Why the law Salique, which they have in France,
Or should or should not bar us in our claim."

Bru. Sit thee down, Clitus: slaying is the word;
It is a deed in fashion. Hark thee, Clitus. 5
[*Whispers.*
Cli. What I, my lord? No, not for all the world.
Bru. Peace then! no words.
Cli. I'll rather kill myself.
Bru. Hark thee, Dardanius. [*Whispers.*
Dar. Shall I do such a deed?
Cli. O Dardanius!
Dar. O Clitus! 10
Cli. What ill request did Brutus make to thee?
Dar. To kill him, Clitus. Look, he meditates.
Cli. Now is that noble vessel full of grief,
That it runs over even at his eyes.
Bru. Come hither, good Volumnius: list a word. 15
Vol. What says my lord?
Bru. Why, this, Volumnius:
The ghost of Cæsar hath appear'd to me
Two several times by night; at Sardis once,
And, this last night, here in Philippi fields.
I know my hour is come.
Vol. Not so, my lord. 20
Bru. Nay, I am sure it is, Volumnius.

4. *Sit thee*] Compare "Hark thee," line 5, and note on iii. 85.

5. *Hark thee, Clitus*] Brutus here in a whisper asks Clitus to kill him. See line 12.

8. *Dardanius*] correctly called Dardanus in North's *Plutarch*. The extra syllable is required by the metre.

13. *vessel*] used for a person, as in the biblical expression "weaker vessel," which is common in Shakespeare. The term here suggests a comparison between a person overflowing with tears and an overflowing jar, as in *Winter's Tale*, III. iii. 21:

"I never saw a vessel of like sorrow
So fill'd and so becoming."

Compare also *Timon*, II. ii. 171.

19. *Philippi*] used adjectivally. Compare "Tiber banks" (I. i. 63), "Hybla bees" (i. 34), "London streets" (*Richard II.* V. v. 77), "London gates" (*2 Henry VI.* IV. viii. 24), "London Bridge," "Kensington Gardens."

Thou seest the world, Volumnius, how it goes;
Our enemies have beat us to the pit: [*Low alarums.*
It is more worthy to leap in ourselves
Than tarry till they push us. Good Volumnius, 25
Thou know'st that we two went to school together;
Even for that our love of old, I prithee,
Hold thou my sword-hilts, whilst I run on it.

Vol. That's not an office for a friend, my lord.
[*Alarum still.*

Cli. Fly, fly, my lord! there is no tarrying here. 30

Bru. Farewell to you; and you; and you, Volumnius.
Strato, thou hast been all this while asleep;
Farewell to thee too, Strato. Countrymen,
My heart doth joy that yet in all my life

28. *sword-hilts*] *Sword Hilts* F 1, 2; *Swords Hilt* F 3, 4. 33. *thee too, Strato. Countrymen*] Theobald; *thee, to Strato, Countrymen:* Ff. 34. *in*] F 1; omitted in F 2, 3, 4.

22. *the world, . . . how it goes*] the present position of affairs. Compare the colloquial question "How goes the world with you?" and *As You Like It*, II. vii. 23: "How the world wags." For the construction, compare III. ii. 278.

23. *the pit*] of destruction. "Gulf" is used in the same sense in *Richard III.* III. vii. 128:

"the swallowing gulf
Of blind forgetfulness and dark oblivion,"

and *Henry V.* IV. iii. 82:

"For certainly thou art so near the gulf,
Thou needs must be englutted."

26. *went to school together*] Brutus in Plutarch "prayed him for the studies' sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would help him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him." Plutarch here refers to the studies of philosophy and rhetoric in which Volumnius and Brutus had been associated as grown-up men. Shakespeare makes the appeal more touching by supposing that they were schoolboys together. Compare the reference to "school-days' friendship" in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 202, and *Hamlet*, III. iv. 202, where Hamlet is indignant that his schoolfellows should have been selected to betray him. In *Hamlet*, I. ii. 113, "school" means "college."

31. *you, Volumnius*] The change to the plural in addressing Volumnius may be intended to indicate a shade of coldness due to the fact that Brutus was disappointed at his refusal to help him to kill himself. In the following line Strato is naturally addressed in the singular number, as he is described as a servant in the list of *dramatis personæ*. Plutarch, however, calls him "Brutus' friend."

I found no man but he was true to me. 35
I shall have glory by this losing day,
More than Octavius and Mark Antony
By this vile conquest shall attain unto.
So fare you well at once; for Brutus' tongue
Hath almost ended his life's history. 40
Night hangs upon mine eyes; my bones would rest,
That have but labour'd to attain this hour.

[*Alarum. Cry within, "Fly, fly, fly!"*

Cli. Fly, my lord, fly!

Bru. Hence! I will follow.

[*Exeunt Clitus, Dardanius, and Volumnius.*

I prithee, Strato, stay thou by thy lord.
Thou art a fellow of a good respect; 45
Thy life hath had some smatch of honour in it:
Hold then my sword, and turn away thy face,
While I do run upon it. Wilt thou, Strato?

35. *but he*] Owing to the common ellipse of the pronominal subject in this construction, "but" has come to be used as a negative relative = "who not." See II. i. 91. Brutus has not this consolation in Plutarch's Life, in which he is related to have been much distressed by the desertion of a valiant soldier called Camulatius just before the second battle. According to Plutarch, what Brutus said on this occasion was, "It rejoiceth my heart that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need," confining his reflection to his friends and to the last scene of his life.

38. *vile conquest*] Verity well compares Milton's description of Chæronea as a "dishonest victory."

40. *Hath almost ended*] This speech will be one of the last facts of his life.

42. *to attain this hour*] It is not easy to determine whether this is an expression of satisfaction that he has crowned a virtuous life by a glorious death (see line 36), or a lament that all his labours for the right have ended in defeat and failure. In Plutarch he tells his friends, "I do not complain of my fortune but only for my country's sake: for as for me, I think myself happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetual fame of virtue and honesty."

44. *stay thou by thy lord*] support thy lord, do not fail him. Compare *3 Henry VI.* I. i. 31.

45. *of a good respect*] respectable in the old sense of the word, worthy of esteem.

46. *smatch*] another form of "smack."

Stra. Give me your hand first: fare you well, my lord.
Bru. Farewell, good Strato. Cæsar, now be still: 50
I kill'd not thee with half so good a will.
[*He runs on his sword, and dies.*

Alarum. Retreat. Enter OCTAVIUS, ANTONY, MESSALA, LUCILIUS, *and their Army.*

Oct. What man is that?
Mes. My master's man. Strato, where is thy master?
Stra. Free from the bondage you are in, Messala;
The conquerors can but make a fire of him; 55
For Brutus only overcame himself,
And no man else hath honour by his death.
Lucil. So Brutus should be found. I thank thee, Brutus,
That thou hast prov'd Lucilius' saying true.
Oct. All that serv'd Brutus, I will entertain them. 60
Fellow, wilt thou bestow thy time with me?
Stra. Ay, if Messala will prefer me to you.
Oct. Do so, good Messala.
Mes. How died my master, Strato?
Stra. I held the sword, and he did run on it. 65
Mes. Octavius, then take him to follow thee,

49. *your*] Strato answers in the plural, as he is speaking to his master.

50. *be still*] Brutus thinks that by dying he will succeed in laying Cæsar's ghost.

55. *make a fire of him*] burn his body, not lead him captive. See i. 109–112.

59. *Lucilius' saying*] See iv. 21, 22.

60. *entertain*] take into my service. Compare *Two Gentlemen*, II. iv. 110: "Sweet lady, entertain him for your servant." This use of the word still survives in Indian official correspondence.

62. *prefer*] recommend. Compare *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 394:

"The Roman emperor's letters,
Sent by a consul to me, should not sooner
Than thine own worth prefer thee,"

and Bacon's *Advancement of Learning:* "Moral Philosophy may be preferred unto her (Divinity) as a wise servant and humble handmaid."

That did the latest service to my master.

Ant. This was the noblest Roman of them all:
All the conspirators save only he
Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar; 70
He only, in a general honest thought
And common good to all, made one of them.
His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!" 75

Oct. According to his virtue let us use him,
With all respect and rites of burial.
Within my tent his bones to-night shall lie,
Most like a soldier, order'd honourably.
So call the field to rest; and let's away, 80
To part the glories of this happy day. [*Exeunt.*

71. *He only, in*] *He, onely in* Ff.

69. *save only he*] he only being excepted. "He" is a nominative absolute, and "save" is treated as an adjective or participle.

71. *in a general honest thought*] actuated by honourable regard for the good of the community. Compare II. i. 12. If the punctuation of the Folio is retained, the meaning is that Brutus was actuated by no other more interested motives.

72. *common good*] We must by zeugma understand a new preposition "for" to govern "common good." Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. i. 29: "That more for praise than purpose meant to kill," where "on" has to be understood to govern "purpose."

72. *to all*] is pleonastic.

73. *the elements*] fire, air, earth, and water, the proportions of which in each person were supposed to determine his character.

74. *So mix'd*] so harmoniously combined.

75. *a man*] a true man, a man really worthy of the name. Compare *Hamlet*, I. ii. 187, III. iv. 62.

79. *Most like a soldier*] Compare *Hamlet*, V. ii. 407. The honourable treatment of his dead body included its being "wrapped up in one of the richest coat-armours" that Antony possessed, so that

"He lay like a warrior taking his rest
With his martial cloak around him."

80. *field*] by metonymy for the soldiers on the field of battle.

APPENDIX

I. iii. 65. The use of "calculate" intransitively in the sense of "prophesy" is so strange and gives such unsatisfactory sense, that I am tempted to conjecture that "why" in line 65 is an emphatic interjectional expletive as it is in line 68. The meaning will then be, "If you would consider why the fires, ghosts, birds, and beasts act in such an extraordinary manner, I may tell you that the significance of these prodigies is so obvious that not only old men, but even fools and children can form an estimate of the reason why these things act contrary to their nature. You will assuredly find that the reason is that they are intended by heaven to point to an unnatural state of affairs, namely, the state of Rome under the dominion of one man grown portentously great." In support of this interpretation, it may be urged that the two preceding lines refer to prodigies already recorded, whereas the folly of old men and the prophesying of fools and children are not among the prodigies related either by Shakespeare or Plutarch, nor are they such prodigies as Shakespeare would be likely to invent and suddenly add to lines referring to prodigies recorded before. Exception may be taken to the use of "why" in a sense different from that in which it is used in the lines immediately preceding and following, but this objection would prove too much, as it would condemn the undoubtedly expletive use of "why" in line 68, where also as in line 65 "why" is not followed by a comma in the Folio.

II. i. 177: *seem to chide.* Mr. Marshall in Irving's edition of Shakespeare says that here Brutus "is advising a course of deliberate hypocrisy; the conspirators are to try and entrap the sympathies of the people by commit-

ting the murder with all due delicacy and decorum, and then *pretending* to regret it." This is stretching the comparison too far. When Christ (Luke xvi.) tells His disciples to imitate the conduct of the unjust steward, He does not thereby inculcate injustice. So here Brutus, though asking his followers to act like hypocritical masters, does not incite them to hypocrisy. In order that the deed may be done they must for the time give the reins to their righteous anger, and in the words put into the mouth of Henry V.,

> imitate the action of the tiger,
> Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
> Disguise fair nature with hard favoured rage,

but afterwards they may grieve over the death of Cæsar, and almost appear (to themselves, as much as to others) to repent of their action, not with any intent to deceive, but because they cannot help lamenting over the death of a man whom Brutus at any rate loved, and for whom he had good reason to expect that many of the other conspirators entertained kindly feelings on account of the benefits they had received from him. As Agrippa remarks in *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. i. 27:

> Strange it is
> That nature must compel us to lament
> Our most persisted deeds.

Those who interpret the passage as recommending hypocrisy are reduced to the necessity of interpreting "make" as meaning "make to appear," or even change "make" into "mark." Further, it is quite evident from Antony's eulogium at the end of the play that the purpose of Brutus was not envious, so that he cannot be contemplating hypocritical concealment of his motives in line 178.

III. i. 47: *Cæsar doth not wrong.* Ben Jonson ridicules this passage in his *Staple of News* in the sentence, "Cry you mercy; you never did wrong, but with just cause." He further remarks in his *Discoveries*, "Many times he

(Shakespeare) fell into those things could not escape laughter: as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him, 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong,' he replied, 'Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause!'" We probably here have the original reading, which in deference to Ben Jonson's criticism may have been altered into the Folio reading, either by Shakespeare himself or by his editors. Tyrwhitt meets Ben Jonson's criticism by pointing out that "wrong" may be understood to mean "harm" or "hurt" (see III. i. 242), in which case there would be no appearance of contradiction. The passage should rather be explained as an anacoluthon, the sentence ending as if it had begun "Cæsar never acted." See notes on II. i. 12, 125, 127, and compare such sentences as "you may deny that you were not the cause," where the negative is used in the noun clause as if it had been governed by "say." Another interpretation is suggested by the *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 216, where Bassanio pleads, "To do a great right do a little wrong," and by the discussion in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* of the sentiment of Jason of Pheræ that "some things are to be done unjustly that many things may be done justly." By the light of these passages we should understand Cæsar to mean that, if he ever transgressed the ordinary rules of justice, he had just cause to do so on account of wider principles of justice. This is how Lowell interprets the line when he defends it on the ground that "the moral confusion in the idea was surely admirably characteristic of the general who had just accomplished a successful *coup d'état*, the condemnation of which he would fancy that he read in the face of every honest man he met, and which he would therefore be for ever indirectly palliating." Lastly, an entirely immoral interpretation is suggested by Massinger's *Roman Actor*, V. i.:

> What pleases Cæsar,
> Though never so unjust, is right and lawful.

III. i. 48: *Will he be satisfied.* The fact that this half line is not completed by the next speaker may be due to the passage having been altered from its original form.

If such an alteration was really made, then, as Craik remarks, Shakespeare acted as Euripides did, when he mended or cut out passages which had been ridiculed by Aristophanes.

III. i. 206: *Sign'd* expresses nearly the same meaning as "crimson'd." Thy spoil = in the act of spoiling thee, *i.e.* marring thee (see ii. 191, and *Henry V.* v. ii. 249: "Old age, that ill layer up of beauty can do no more spoil upon thy face"), reducing thee to ruins (see 256), or "spoil" may mean overthrow, death, like the Greek verb ἐναρίζω, which by its etymology means to spoil, but is often used by Homer to express the idea of slaying. Or, perhaps, it is better to regard Cæsar's blood as the spoil. No other spoils being available in this case, the hunters took as their spoil the reward that generally (see the quotation below from the *Book of St. Albans* and the lines from *Gorboduc*, in which the hunter is actually represented as drinking the blood of the deer) belonged to the hounds. In this case "in thy spoil" = "in thy lethe." Ancient etymologists connected *letum*, death, which they therefore sometimes spelt *lethum*, with *Lethe*, the river of oblivion, the water of which was drunk by the dead when they entered the lower world. Hence the two words are apt to be confused in English. Thus we have "lethal" = deadly, and in Heywood's lines,

> The proudest nation that great Asia nursed
> Is now extinct in Lethe,

"lethe" appears to mean death, though it may also mean oblivion. In the passage before us "lethe" must be taken to mean by metonymy death-blood, a meaning further suggested by the fact that Lethe is the stream of the dead. For the metonymy compare *Æneid*, ix. 348, where Servius interprets *multa morte* as meaning *multo cruore*, and the use of "slaughter" in the closely similar passage in *King John*, II. i. 321–323:

> And, like a jolly troop of huntsmen, come
> Our lusty English, all with purpled hands,
> Dyed in the dying slaughter of their foes.

This interpretation is also supported by Capell's assertion that "'lethe' is a term used by hunters to signify the blood shed by a deer at its fall, with which it is still a custom to mark those who come in at the death." Such a custom does not appear to be mentioned by any other writers. There are, however, frequent allusions to hunters cutting up the deer, and, in so doing, staining their hands and arms with its blood. This office is performed in the ninth chapter of the *Bride of Lammermoor* by Bucklaw, who is described as "stript to his doublet, with tucked up sleeves, and naked arms up to the elbows in blood (see line 106), slashing, cutting, hacking, and hewing with the precision of Sir Tristrem himself." Compare also *Gorboduc*, IV. i., where Videna says to Porrex: "Why could you not have been content with hunting savage beasts

> To feed thy greedy will, and in the midst
> Of their entrails to stain thy deadly hands
> With blood deserved, and drink thereof thy fill?"

This practice is also alluded to in the *Book of St. Albans:*

> With the bowels and with the blood
> Reward your hounds that be so good,

where the blood is the spoil with which the hounds are rewarded. We may therefore suppose that Antony compares the conspirators to hunters who have stained their hands and arms with blood in breaking up a noble hart. Other possible interpretations are suggested by Jameson's *Scottish Dictionary*, where we find *leth* = a stream, and *leth, lethe* = hatred. The former word would bring us by a different route to the conclusion we have already arrived at, namely, that "crimsoned in thy lethe" means "red in the stream of thy life-blood." If "lethe" is "hatred," then the meaning would be "red-handed in their hatred of thee."

III. iii. 19: *bear me a bang*. For "bear" used to express the striking of a blow. Murray quotes from Browne's *Polexander* (1647): "Bajazet bore him a blow that in all

likelihood should have bereft his life." "Take" is used in the same sense in *Henry V.* IV. i. 231: "I will take thee a box on the ear." See *Additions*, p. 180.

IV. ii. 50: *Lucius, do you the like.* Steevens accepts the reading of the Folio, except that he omits "you" in the first line of the speech, so as to make it a regular iambic line. Craik, whose reading is given in the text, remarks that "it is strange that no one should have been struck with the absurdity of such an association as Lucius and Titinius for the guarding of the door—an officer of rank and a servant boy—the boy, too, being named first. The function of Lucius was to carry messages. As Cassius sends *his* servant Pindarus with a message to his division of the force, Brutus sends his servant Lucius with a similar message to his division. Nothing can be clearer than that Lucilius in the first line is a misprint for Lucius, and Lucius in the third a misprint for Lucilius. Or the error may have been in the copy; and the insertion of the *Let* was probably an attempt of the printer or editor to save the prosody of that line, as the omission of the *you* is of the modern editors to save that of the other. The present restoration sets everything to rights. At the close of the conference we have Brutus in iii. 138 again addressing himself to Lucilius and Titinius, who had evidently kept together all the time it lasted. Lucius (who in the original text is commonly called the Boy) and Titinius are nowhere mentioned together." The fact that in iii. 126 we find Lucilius guarding the door of the tent amounts to a conclusive verification of Craik's inference.

IV. iii. 5: *slighted off*— The text differs from the Folio reading only by the dash at the end of the line indicating that Brutus would not allow Cassius to finish his long sentence. Compare II. i. 184, III. ii. 61, IV. i. 3; *Othello*, I. i. 3, III. iii. 227; and *Romeo and Juliet*, II. ii. 108, 115, where the Folio has full stops instead of dashes, though in each case the sentence is unfinished. In II. i. 115 the Folios have a semicolon instead of a dash after "abuse." This habit of interrupting speakers in the middle of their

sentences is a characteristic trait in Brutus, indicating his extravagantly high opinion of his own judgment and his disinclination to be guided by others. See II. i. 184, III. i. 88, IV. ii. 41, iii. 212. Most later editors follow Malone in inserting a comma after "man," retaining the full stop at the end of the line, and changing "was" into "were" so as to make the verb agree in number with the subject "letters." There is, however, no indication in the account of the incident given by Plutarch that Cassius had any special knowledge of Lucius Pella and his character. (See p. lxxxii.) It is distinctly implied that he was dismissed from his office by Brutus, under whom he was serving, whereas Cassius refused to dismiss "two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences." From this we may infer that Lucius Pella was not one of Cassius' friends.

IV. iii. 182: *Nor nothing.* This is not the first lie that Brutus is guilty of in the play. But his former lie in II. i. 257 was actuated by an easily intelligible motive, whereas this one is not. Further, in the present case Brutus accepts without protest Messala's admiration, which is based upon a misconception produced by the lie. Most commentators have overlooked the difficulty, and those who have attempted to explain it have not been very successful. Verity suggests that "perhaps Brutus dissembles thus because he cherishes a faint hope that after all Portia is not dead—that the report which reached him was false, and that Messala has later tidings of her being alive." But in what goes before Brutus does not speak as if the information was based on a report that might possibly be false. Mark Hunter, in an ingenious and elaborate examination of the passage, supposes that Brutus's strange denial to Messala was due to his "sensitive shrinking from a wound which is too recent and too painful to be laid bare in the presence of any but the most intimate friends," which is in accordance with the state of Brutus's mind disclosed in lines 157, 165. He therefore tries to "put aside the question," hoping that "Messala does not know the truth, or, knowing it, will not

speak, if he imagines Brutus still ignorant." This view is not easy to reconcile with Brutus's subsequent earnest appeal to Messala to tell all he has heard of Portia, and leaves unexplained the conduct of Cassius, who speaks as if he did not know that Brutus had heard of his wife's death some time before.

My own impression is that the difficulties in the end of this part of the scene are due to additions subsequently made and not perfectly reconciled with the original draft. It is very possible that when Shakespeare first wrote the play his intention was to give an impressive illustration of Brutus's stoicism and subordination of private feelings to public necessities, so that he might rival his supposed ancestor who executed his own sons for treason. Afterwards he may have seen that such a representation of Brutus would be inconsistent with the gentleness previously ascribed to him, and added the lines in which he reveals his loss to Cassius. If this possibility is worth considering, we may conjecture that the additional lines were 143–157, 165. Evidence in favour of this supposition may be derived from the fact that in the scene as it now stands Brutus twice asks for a bowl of wine (see lines 141, 157). Whether it was due to oversight on the part of the poet that lines 180–195 were not omitted or recast so as to be in harmony with the addition, it is idle to inquire. Possibly the original editors may have printed both the original and the added lines, not knowing that the author intended to substitute the latter for the former.

v. i. 101–108: The passage on which this speech is based is correctly rendered by J. and W. Langhorne, as follows:—Brutus answered, "In the younger and less experienced part of my life, I was led, upon philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato in killing himself. I thought it at once impious and unmanly to sink beneath the stroke of fortune, or to refuse the lot that had befallen us. In my present situation, however, I am of a different opinion." Thus the meaning of Brutus in Plutarch is perfectly clear, namely, that Brutus as a young man entirely condemned suicide, but at the battle of Philippi,

under the stress of circumstances, changed his opinion and determined not to survive defeat. This meaning is obscured or altered by North, in whose translation Brutus's answer begins at the wrong place. He also gives the present tense "trust" instead of the past tense used by Plutarch and Amyot, and so makes Brutus condemn suicide even on the day of battle. (See p. lxxxvi.) Shakespeare, as usual, follows North. He makes his Brutus express to Cassius his condemnation of suicide in his first answer, but when the question of Cassius forces him to realise that unswerving rejection of suicide might end in his being led in triumph through the streets of Rome, he declares warmly that he could never submit to such an indignity. He thus implicitly allows that under certain circumstances he might be compelled to transgress his philosophical principles and commit suicide, although he intends to avoid that necessity by seeking death in battle, if his army is defeated. The admission of an exception to the duty of preserving one's life is in accordance with the doctrines of the Stoics, who approved of suicide when life was found to be no longer worth living. When Brutus disapproved of Cato's suicide, he showed that he was not a Stoic, but a follower of the Old Academy, and, as such, inclined to "lend an ear to Plato, where he says

> That men like soldiers must not quit the post
> Allotted by the gods."

See Plato's *Phædo*, where Socrates argues that man is not his own property but a possession of the gods, and has no right to make away with that which does not belong to him. In Plutarch we read that Brutus studied and liked every sect and every philosopher, but "above all the rest he loved Plato's sect best." Plato's views upon suicide were probably familiar to Shakespeare, as they are expounded at length in Sidney's *Arcadia* and in the ninth canto of the first book of the *Faerie Queene*. With the arguments for and against suicide given in these works we may compare the similar discussion of the subject in Tennyson's *Two Voices*.

Wright regards "trust" in the rendering of this passage

given in North's *Plutarch* as "evidently a past tense (Old English, *truste*)" which "must have been read by Shakespeare as a present."

V. v. 73: *the elements*] fire, air, earth, and water, the elements of which all things, including the human body, were supposed to be composed. In the animal body the elements determined the humours, fire producing choler, air producing blood, water producing phlegm, and earth producing melancholy. The elements are differently combined in different persons. There was "little of the melancholy element" in Beatrice; the Dauphin's horse was "pure air and fire" (*Henry V.* III. vii. 22), and "the dull elements of earth and water never appeared in him but only in patient stillness while his rider mounted him"; Cassius was choleric because he had in his temperament too much of the fire which he found wanting in the gentle Brutus (I. ii. 174; and compare IV. iii. 111, 112). To produce a perfect disposition, these four elements had to be combined in due proportions, as Antony says they were in Brutus, and as they were combined in Ben Jonson's *Crites*, "A creature of a most perfect and divine temper; one in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met without emulation of precedency; he is neither too fantastically melancholy, too slowly phlegmatic, too lightly sanguine, and too rashly choleric; but in all so composed and ordered, as it is clear Nature went about some full work, she did more than make a man when she made him." The above passage is quoted by Malone from *Cynthia's Revels*, a play brought out in 1600, and is probably consciously or unconsciously suggested by Antony's eulogium of Brutus. Another passage which has been pointed out as based on the same model is the following stanza that appeared in the 1603 edition of Drayton's *Barons' Wars*:—

Such one he was, of whom we boldly say,
In whose rich soul all sovereign powers did suit,
In whom in peace the elements all lay
So mixt as none could sovereignty impute;

As all did govern, yet all did obey,
His lively temper was so absolute,
That it seem'd when heaven his model first began
In him it showed perfection in a man.

That this is an imitation of Shakespeare is almost proved by the fact that in the later edition of the *Barons' Wars*, published in 1619 after Shakespeare's death, the passage was altered so as to follow its original even more closely, and appeared in the following form :—

He was a man, then boldly dare to say,
In whose rich soul the virtues well did suit ;
In whom so mix'd the elements all lay,
That none to one could sovereignty impute ;
As all did govern, yet did all obey :
He of a temper was so absolute,
As that it seem'd, when Nature him began,
She meant to show that all might be in man.

ADDITIONS TO APPENDIX

III. i. 39. The reading "lune" is almost confirmed by comparison with Gilderstone's remark in the first quarto of *Hamlet*, that the public

"are turned to private plays
And to the humour of children."

Here we have the same verb and the same nouns as in the proposed emendation, with the exception that "humour" takes the place of its equivalent "lune," both words meaning "whim" or "caprice." This variation is exactly in accordance with Shakespeare's frequent practice of repeating a similar thought almost in the same words with the substitution of one or more synonyms. Compare, for instance, "the primrose path of dalliance" in *Hamlet*, I. iii. 50, with "the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire" in *Macbeth*, II. iii. 21, and the "flowery way that leads to the broad gate and the great fire" in *All's Well that Ends Well*, IV. v. 56.

III. i. 152. The same construction is found in the *Ancren Riwle*, 112: "Nes among al moncun oni holi dole ifunden þet muhte beon ileten blod" (*i.e.* There was not found among all mankind any holy portion that might be let blood). See Kellner's *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 152, and Jebb's note on Sophocles' *Electra*, 125.

III. i. 172. As the killing of Cæsar is here attributed to Pity, so in the *Electra* of Sophocles, when Agamemnon was murdered, the deed was done by ἔρος ὁ κτείνας, Love who slew.

III. iii. 19. Just too late for the first imprint of this edition, Mr. Craig sent me a good instance of "bear me a bang," in the sense of "receive a bang from me," "be banged by me," from the *Diogines Lanthorne* of Rowlands: "How now, thou drunken knave! Canst not see, but reel upon me? I would I had been ware of thee. Thou shouldst have borne me a good bang with my staff." For the ethical dative denoting an agent, compare Horace, *Odes*, I. vi. 1; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 970; and *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 412:

Cam. I am appointed him to murder you.
Pol. By whom, Camillo?
Cam. By the King.

IV. iii. 81. Compare *Battle of Maldon*, 50, 53; and Pope's Homer's *Iliad*, xv. 133:

"The God of battles dares avenge the slain;
Dares, though the thunder bursting o'er my head
Should hurl me blazing on those heaps of dead."

It may be remarked, by the way, that Mars was, like the Roman mob, incited to mutiny by a cunning speech of Juno's that pretended to advise submission.

V. iii. 60. Compare Burns:

"The wan moon is setting behind the white wave,
And time is setting with me, Oh."

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